

**AN ANALYSIS OF THE SOCIO-POLITICAL
ROLE OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH
IN CONTEMPORARY SOUTH AFRICA**

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this dissertation is my own
unaided work and that I have given full acknowledgement
to the resources which I have used.

L. Law

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I should like to dedicate this work to the memory of Ian, my father, with much love.

This study attempts an analysis of the form and content of the opposition of the Roman Catholic Church in South Africa to the policy and practice of apartheid during the period 1948-1989. It is argued that the divisions, tensions and contradictions of the Catholic Church reflect the socially divided character of the broader society. It is suggested that some of the policies, teachings and social practice of the South African Catholic Church serve to reproduce and reinforce the existing societal relations of domination, thus contributing to the hegemony of the dominant social group, while others undermine the same and point toward a transformation of social relations in a democratic society. In some instances the Church has contributed to the nascent hegemony of the dominated group.

Literature focusing on the Catholic Church during times of social upheaval is reviewed. Recent analyses of the role of the Christian Churches in apartheid South Africa are considered. Various approaches to the Sociology of Religion are discussed and the relevance of a contextual approach to the analysis of the Church is argued. Gramsci's concept of hegemony as a tool of political analysis is discussed. A brief historical overview of the Catholic Church in South Africa is given. It is contended that the Catholic Church in South Africa must be understood in terms of its colonial, missionary and racist history.

An ecclesiological overview of the Roman Catholic Church in terms of its history, traditions, organization, authority structures, governing procedures and beliefs is sketched. The 'Social Teaching' of the Catholic Church during the twentieth century is outlined. The importance of the Second Vatican Council, the emergence of the Theology of Liberation and the increasing centrality of social justice in Church teachings is discussed. The implications of these developments for the pastoral practice of the Church is emphasized.

The response of the Catholic Church to the introduction and implementation of

'separate development' is considered. Content analysis is used as a research method. The study therefore falls within the realm of hermeneutic or interpretative sociology. The gradual transition from an attitude of paternalism to committed involvement in the anti-apartheid struggle is traced. The Catholic Church's response to the Bantu Education Act, which was the primary focus of its opposition to apartheid in the 1950's, is evaluated. The challenge of the Black Consciousness movement is acknowledged.

It is argued that the realities of apartheid society have had a profound impact on the Church, severely compromising its unity. The related processes of reform, repression and resistance are examined. It emerges that while the Church's championship of human rights has been unequivocal, its support for some of the strategies employed in the struggle against apartheid has been more tentative.

It is argued that the Catholic Church's participation in the anti-apartheid struggle has facilitated a growth in ecumenism and increased contact with secular organizations. The Catholic Church has become part of a broad anti-apartheid alliance.

It is suggested that while there have been important changes in the Church's self understanding and perception of its role in, and pastoral mission to, society, these changes have been uneven and ambiguous. They have not been reflected throughout the Church and have underlined the divisions within the Church. There has been considerable reluctance on the part of many white Catholics to endorse the anti-apartheid stance of the hierarchy. However, the S.A.C.B.C.'s commitment to social justice is in tune with modern Catholic social teaching.

Finally, it is argued that the Catholic Church has challenged white domination and undermined the hegemony of apartheid in South African society.

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ABBREVIATIONS

A.N.C.	African National Congress
C.A.M.	Christian Action Movement
C.I.I.R.	Catholic Institute for International Relations
C.O.S.A.S.	Congress of South African Students
C.O.S.A.T.U.	Congress of South African Trade Unions
C.P.S.A.	Church of the Province of South Africa (Anglican)
C.S.s.R.	Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer (Redemptorists)
E.C.C.	End Conscription Campaign
I.C.T.	Institute for Contextual Theology
I.M.B.I.S.A.	Inter-Regional Meeting of Bishops of Southern Africa.
M.D.M.	Mass Democratic Movement
N.G.K.	Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk
N.G.K.A.	Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk in Afrika
N.G.S.K.	Nederduitse Gereformeerde Sendingkerk
O.F.M.	Order of Friars Minor (Franciscans)
O.M.I.	Oblates of Mary Immaculate
O.P.	Order of Preachers (Dominicans)
P.A.C.	Pan-Africanist Congress
P.M.A.S.	Society for the Propagation of the Faith
S.A.B.C.	South African Broadcasting Corporation
S.A.C.B.C.	Southern African Catholic Bishops Conference
S.A.C.C.	South African Council of Churches

S.A.C.C.L.	South African Council of Catholic Laity
S.A.D.F.	South African Defence Force
S.A.P.	South African Police
S.J.	Society of Jesus (Jesuits)
S.W.A.P.O.	South West African Peoples Organisation
T.F.P.	Tradition, Family and Property Bureau for Southern Africa
U.D.F.	United Democratic Front
Umkhonto We Sizwe	Armed Wing of the African National Congress
W.C.C.	World Council of Churches
Y.C.S.	Young Christian Students
Y.C.W.	Young Christian Workers

CHAPTER 1

A. INTRODUCTION

The Christian Churches in South Africa have been increasingly acknowledged by both the forces of repression and of resistance to be an area of contestable socio-political terrain. The growing stated opposition of the Churches to the processes of apartheid and their not insignificant contribution to the anti-apartheid struggle have earned the respect of non-Christian progressives and activists and the wrath of the apartheid state. However, the Churches have also been criticized for their failure to adequately address the problems of apartheid society.

During the week culminating in the re-imposition of the National State of Emergency for a third period in June 1988, the Minister of Law and Order Mr. Adriaan Vlok devoted a section of his speech to the President's Council to the 'subversive' role played by the Churches and Church organizations. He said that "In line with communist doctrine even the Churches and Church organizations are harnessed and misused in clandestine ways. Throughout the world, with the exception of communist countries, there is in general great respect for the clergy, Churches and Church organizations. Governments are normally careful and hesitant about acting against the likes of these - that is the reason they are being shamelessly exploited. In South Africa the S.A.C.C. with its twenty two regional councils, the S.A.C.B.C., I.C.T., Diakonia and several others are already involved and exploited in the revolutionary struggle" (Speech 'On the Necessity for the Further Renewal of the National State of Emergency', 9 June, 1988). The Minister went on to quote Joe Slovo, formerly Supreme Commander of Umkhonto We Sizwe, as saying, "We must preach the Gospel which the Church has recently done very effectively - preach the Gospel of defiance, of resistance, of rebellion - wherever people

come together - in the hostels, in the mines, the parks, the schools, the Churches, wherever people come together" (Citizen, 10 June, 1988).

Mr. Vlok singled out particular organizations and structures for attention in his speech. The Southern African Catholic Bishops Conference (S.A.C.B.C.) is one of those specified. The S.A.C.B.C. is a formal and institutionalized structure representing the organized authority of the Roman Catholic Church in Southern Africa. On 12 October 1988, Khanya House, the administrative headquarters of the S.A.C.B.C. in Pretoria, was firebombed by saboteurs.

'The Kairos Document - The Challenge to the Church' sought to provide theological comment on the political crisis in South Africa. The document argues that this crisis is reflected in the Church. The civil unrest in South Africa is seen as "the moment of truth and crisis", not only for apartheid 'but also for the Church'. The need for Christians to engage in action for justice is historically located. The document grapples with the theological meaning of the socio-political conflict. It is critical of 'Church theology' pertaining in the main to the English-speaking Churches of South Africa. The theology of these Churches is described as liberal and idealist and condemned as inadequate, irrelevant and ineffective. The 'Kairos Theologians' assert that the role of the Church in the present crisis is to provide moral guidance by helping the people to understand their rights and duties especially the moral duty to resist tyranny and to struggle for a just society (The Kairos Theologians, 1985).

In November 1990 a spokesman for the Catholic delegation to a national conference of churches in Rustenburg said that the Dutch Reformed Church alone could not be made the scapegoat for apartheid, rather the blame had to be carried by all who at various times and in different ways, may have practised, supported, permitted or refused to resist apartheid. The delegation joined

church representatives of other denominations in confessing guilt for not always resisting apartheid (Southern Cross, 25 November, 1990).

Mr. Vlok's speech, the praise of Joe Slovo, the firebombing of Khanya House, the criticisms contained in the 'Kairos Document' and the 'Rustenburg Confession' are all commentaries on the socio-political role played by the Catholic Church in contemporary South Africa. However, these assessments do not concur. An analysis of the form and content of the opposition of the Catholic Church to apartheid is necessary. This study attempts such an analysis.

B. REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Relevant general literature and related research pertaining to such an analysis will now be discussed. This literature can be divided into two categories : firstly, that which focuses on the church during times of social upheaval and secondly, that which deals more specifically with the Catholic Church in South Africa.

B.1. THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH AND SOCIAL CHANGE

D.E. Smith's book 'Religion, Politics and Social Change in the Third World' explores the dynamic relationships which link religion to politics and social change. Four major religious systems are examined namely Hinduism, Theravada Buddhism, Islam and Roman Catholicism. The respective religion's evolving ideologies of social change are examined. The focus is on the role of religion in transitional societies and particularly in relation to anti-colonial nationalist movements. Smith argues that anti-colonial struggles in Asia and North Africa have demonstrated the enormous power and political potency of religious symbols and loyalties in making politics meaningful to the masses. Religion and nationalism have tended to coalesce in the course of these freedom struggles (Smith 1971 : 4).

The relationship between religion and political behaviour in traditional Third World societies is complex. While the relationships between religion and the nationalist movements in these societies have been many and varied, Smith suggests that four elements can be identified which have recurred frequently:

1. Religion has provided an important part of the leadership of Asian and North African nationalist movements;
2. Religion has provided powerful emotional symbols of group identity which have bound people together in opposition to foreign rulers;
3. Religion has provided legitimation for resistance to established rule;
4. Religion has played an unequivocal role in support of nationalist movements which sought to displace colonial regimes (Smith, 1971).

This raises the question of whether religion can now be reinterpreted to give positive ideological support and encouragement to secularized political movements committed to basic social transformation. The experience of many anti-colonial nationalist struggles suggests that religious legitimation of change and contribution to it have been both apparent and significant.

Houtart and Rousseau develop and attempt to interpret many of these themes on the role of the church in transitional societies in their study entitled 'The Church and Revolution: From the French Revolution of 1789 to the Paris Riots of 1968; from Cuba to Southern Africa; from Vietnam to Latin America' (Houtart and Rousseau, 1971). They state that it is impossible for Christians to fail to see the relationship between the Christian message and the work for human liberation. However it is also impossible not to be distressingly aware of the paradoxical conflict between the two. The authors raise some fundamental questions:

1. Why is it that Christianity which is the proclamation of man's total liberation has so often found itself in opposition to the movements which attempt to give concrete expression to this liberation and has almost always

identified itself with the forces of oppression?

2. Is Christianity itself and, perhaps, every transcendental vision of life, to be blamed for this as so many social reformers have taught?
3. Is the way in which Christianity has become institutionalized to blame?
4. Is there necessarily a link between radical social reform and the rejection of religion? (Houtart and Rousseau, 1971 : ix)

In attempting to answer these questions Houtart and Rousseau describe a number of revolutionary movements for social change and the reaction of the Church to them. The Roman Catholic church is the primary focus of this study. A sociological description of the institutional church which is not coextensive with that of the ecclesiastical institution is employed. This takes into account the stratification and often contradictory social positions which exist within the social entity of the church.

It is hypothesised that revolution involves a challenge to the collective values and goals of a society and often a challenge to its whole system of ideological legitimation. A clear relationship exists between awareness and history. Intense social creativity is a feature of pre-revolutionary and revolutionary periods. Revolution cannot be reduced merely to an outbreak of violence or a seizure of power, rather it involves the withdrawal of collective assent to the existing social system (Houtart and Rousseau, 1971 : 3). (This process links up with Gramsci's concept of hegemony which is discussed later in this chapter).

Houtart and Rousseau point out that from a functional perspective, the classic function of religion is the promotion of social harmony and the maintenance of a stable economic order. However, they continue that this analysis is not entirely valid. The sociologist Henri Desroche, who developed Durkheim's theory regarding the various roles of religion in society, is quoted. Desroche relates three different functions of religion to three different situations in society.

Firstly, there is the integrative function through which society asserts itself; secondly, there is the critical function through which society searches for its own identity, and thirdly, there is the function of protest by which society revolutionizes itself.(1) This suggests that religion may play a role in social conflicts and in the process of social transition. This contention must either be confirmed or dismissed depending on the available evidence.

Houtart and Rousseau's study observes that, during periods preceding and following times of social upheaval, the church lived in relative harmony with the society, accommodating itself to the dominant class and serving as legitimation for its authority. However, during the intervening period it was divided and confused by the many conflicting interests at play.

Some useful analytical guidelines are raised by Houtart and Rousseau.

Firstly, it is important to situate the dominant social class in relation to the church. Secondly, the stand taken by the church throughout the sociopolitical transformations of the particular period must be analysed. It is also noted that the Church consistently refused to acknowledge that there might be conflict between Catholics of different social classes. The Christian symbol of unity became a guarantee of social differences.

The ideal of 'Christendom' continued to pervade the ecclesiology and social ethic of the nineteenth century Catholic Church. Charity was seen as the most appropriate solution to the prevailing social problems. In effect it could be argued that the church was promoting the preservation of the 'status quo'. The scope for charity seemed almost dependent on social inequality, while Christian social justice groupings tended to be marginalized. The social mentality of the medieval church persisted. It emerges that there is a connection between the ideology and the practice of the church. It is suggested, for example, that the social encyclical 'Rerum Novarum' reflected much of the confusion present in the

church during the early industrial era. It is argued that the encyclical was "decidedly behind the times in comparison with contemporary ideas in the worker movement"...and thus should not be perceived as more progressive than it actually was (Houtart and Rousseau, 1970 : 100).(2)

Furthermore, their study indicates that the church has great difficulty in accepting new ideas and modes of conduct. This is especially the case among Catholics of the middle and upper classes. Rather the church attempts to undermine the effects of change by simply reiterating previously held positions. Church attitudes toward social conflict are characterized by ambiguity and a failure to adequately understand or address the real causes of the conflict or the issues raised by it.

Houtart and Rousseau insist that the church of the 1950's and 1960's must be understood in the light of events taking place in the Latin American church. In that region there was a developing movement for tranformation in the church and a changed relationship between the church and society. Many Catholics were beginning to perceive the church as an active element in class conflict and as an agent of social change. Yet the attitudes of Latin American Catholics were various and conflicting, indicating that the church is not a monolithic structure. "It is not easy for the Latin American church to cooperate in social transformation. Having been the traditional guarantor of society for so long it has great difficulty in accepting the idea that the old system must go and that this will not happen if it is left only to the goodwill of the oligarchies in power ..." (Houtart and Rousseau, 1971 : 212).(3)

Often the lack of sociopolitical analysis on behalf of the church has detracted from the social utterances of the church rendering them largely ineffectual. The statements may address a reality that is not actually there.

Houtart and Rousseau advise that it is not only the Church's attitude to social

change and societal conflict and its judgement of them that require attention, but also its position in the events as part of the social system that was being shaken. The following four questions assist in such a sociological analysis:

1. How did Christians analyze the event, its causes, nature and implications?
2. What image or interpretation did they have of it and what was their frame of reference?
3. What kind of partial or total solidarity did they develop with the groups involved in the movement?
4. How did they express the impact of the event on their own institutions, their faith and their cultural system? (Houtart and Rousseau, 1971 : 282).

The church lives through these events not only as an observer but also as a protagonist. Houtart and Rousseau's study shows that the relations of the church with revolutionary movements have been marked by various responses, arguments, endorsements and oppositions. The ecclesiastical institutions have generally been opposed to revolutions and are wary of social change. In turn revolutionary movements have tended to regard institutionalized religion and the Catholic Church in particular, as an impediment to change (Houtart and Rousseau, 1971).

Most of the events described by Houtart and Rousseau took place at the meeting point between a 'sacral' and a 'modern' society. Prior to the process of secularization and the concomitant transformation of the traditional sociopolitical systems, the Church had a virtual monopoly on the definition of values and an all encompassing monopoly as a system of legitimation and explanation in Western societies and their extensive colonies. The institutional church was bound closely to civil society and was a guarantor of the social system. Inevitably the breakdown of and changes in the traditional ordering of society also affected the church. By its legitimation of the established order the church found itself in opposition to the revolutionary

movements. This opposition was premised on the belief that the only possible relationship between religion and society was that which had prevailed in the 'ancien regime'. Furthermore, the closer the parallel between the ecclesiastical and the social structures the more similar the reactions of the church hierarchy to those of the group in power. However, when the church defends a given society, it is very rare that the church is simply defending that system as such, rather it is frequently because that system is perceived as providing the institutional church with the necessary opportunities for communicating the message of the church. But at the same time contradictory conceptions of the church's message and role exist within it.

A general absence of sociopolitical analysis is evident. Also the stronger the church's resistance to change, the more total the lack of any analysis seems to be and the church tends to focus on the morality of the means rather than on the legitimacy of the ends. Often the church seems almost entirely ignorant of exterior realities and so interventions by the church tend to be prophetic rather than political. The church attempts to mediate between conflicting social groups. In order to effect this role the church must maintain an audience in both parties to the dispute. Furthermore, the hierarchy of the church in most contemporary societies tends to be part of the establishment and this position in society necessarily informs their options and actions.

The thread running through the history of the church and its reactions to movements for social change is that the church always has difficulty in recognizing the phenomena of domination - be they of class or economic, political and military imperialism (Houtart and Rousseau, 1971 : 330-333).

Institutionalized religion clearly plays a large role in the mystifying function of ideology and occupies an ambiguous social position during periods of social transition or revolution. The internal social system of the church is modelled

on and identified with that of traditional society. There is an overemphasis on the hierarchical character of the Roman Catholic Church. Little self-examination or self-criticism takes place within the church itself. Houtart and Rousseau conclude that serious social critique always and inevitably leads to a critique of the church itself as a social institution.

The work of Smith and Houtart and Rousseau both predates and anticipates many of the events of the 1970's and 1980's and the challenges that they presented to the church. The demise of Portuguese colonialism in Africa, the independence of Zimbabwe, the Sandinista revolution in Nicaragua and the genesis of the Theology of Liberation represent some examples. The works described above offer guidelines for understanding, analysing and interpreting these events.

Andrew Bradstock considers the response of the Catholic Church in Nicaragua to the Sandinista revolution. Bradstock examines the origins, nature and extent of the Church's involvement in the revolution and the effect it has had on the revolutionary process itself and on the role and mission of the Church. The focus of his analysis is the articulation between various theologies, options and ecclesiologies and a particular set of historical circumstances (Bradstock, 1987).

Bradstock emphasizes that the involvement of the Church in Nicaragua is neither unified nor coherent. It is not possible to identify a single unified process. Rather, it is a complex of different responses arising from a variety of perceptions, experiences and theological approaches.

Three questions form the basis of Bradstock's analysis. Firstly, what factors led Church members to participate in the revolutionary process? Secondly, what explanations might account for their divergent attitudes both before and after the revolution? Thirdly, what effect has its divided response to the revolution had on the Catholic Church and on the nature of religious belief in

Nicaragua? (Bradstock, 1987 : vii).

Vatican II is seen as highly significant in giving impetus, encouragement and direction to the Church's process of reassessment in the face of modern realities. The council marked a critical turning point in the history of the Catholic Church. Vatican II sought to correct the overdeveloped vertical structures of the Church by concentrating on the local Church and on the participation of the laity. The emphasis of the council was pastoral rather than dogmatic. Dominant themes were economic parity, human dignity, social responsibility, social justice and world peace. The overriding concern was the appropriate response of the Church to the modern world. Bradstock argues that the Church of Vatican II recognized, at least in theory, that working for justice and peace in the world would involve the Church in cooperation and dialogue with a variety of other religious and secular groupings (Bradstock, 1982 : 5-8).

Bradstock suggests that there is evidence that although theological reflection does play a role in the development of political consciousness it is not the only factor. The divergent and mixed responses of the Church hierarchy and more radical 'grassroots' Christians can be explained with reference to class and to differing understandings of the social role of the Church. The divergent attitudes of different sections of the Church in post revolutionary Nicaragua have caused tensions within both the Church and the revolution at large. The Nicaraguan Church hierarchy has a traditionalist understanding of the Church as a transcendent institution above identification with specific political programmes and movements. Bradstock writes that "for the bishops the Church has a duty to denounce evil in society and enunciate general principles and guidelines for action, but its leaders must preserve its independence and unity by not permitting it to become identified with

particular programmes or class interests" (Bradstock, 1987 : 28).

There is a clear ambiguity between the oft repeated 'option for the poor' and the liberation of the poor and the persistent refusal to identify with political programmes and groups which aim to achieve liberation for the poor.

Church leaders' perceptions of the role of the Church can profoundly affect political responses. Different visions of the Church clearly played an important role in shaping the respective political positions of the bishops and the radicals. Also the differing responses of different sectors of the Church tended to reflect their respective class backgrounds and correspond to their economic and social position in the society (Bradstock, 1987 : 27-29). Furthermore, within this deeply divided Church there is also disagreement over the causes of the division and polarization. This is indicative of the depth of the rift between Nicaraguan Catholics. Therefore the possibility of schism should not be overlooked. How prototypical the Nicaraguan experience will prove remains to be seen. However, it does raise a number of important theoretical and practical issues.(4)

Ian Linden looks at the Roman Catholic Church and the struggle for Zimbabwe. He focuses on the conflict between the Catholic Church and the Rhodesian State as well as on the ideological struggle within the Church itself between the years 1959 - 1979 (Linden, 1980). The struggle for Zimbabwe, argues Linden, became for the Christian Churches a struggle for a particular definition of Christianity. The study considers the imbrication or overlapping of the ideological conflict within Christianity and the political and armed struggle for Zimbabwe. This focus on ideology and power brings into view major questions of land, labour, education, the Press and the guerilla war (Linden, 1980 : IX).

The point is made that a corollary of a Christianity which had become enmeshed

with a colonial/state ideology was an African nationalism which turned away from the Church (Linden, 1980 : 56-62).

However, during the first years of rule by the Rhodesian Front the Catholic Church emerged as a promoter of a multi-racial middle class and of an ideology increasingly at loggerheads with the racism of the State. Throughout the 1960's the Catholic Church assumed an unusual position of leadership in an ecumenical context. Ironically this was due to its authoritarian and hierarchical structure. While the major Protestant Churches repeatedly risked schismatic rifts along racial lines through divisions in democratic and synodal structures the Rhodesian Catholic Bishops claimed the right to promulgate their opinions without consultation and to overrule opposition (Linden, 1980 : 77-78).

Linden notes that the Church leaders addressed themselves to whites and to the state calling for reform and reconciliation, while at the same time recognizing that there were deep divisions and much conflict within the society. The hierarchy appeared to see themselves outside the conflict and neutral. The Catholic Church, although never a pacifist Church, also failed to confront the issue of violence on the part of the state. Linden argues that this is indicative of the dimension of ideological involvement on the part of the Church. "The ideological involvement of the Bishops is nowhere more manifest", writes Linden, "than in 'a Plea for Peace' (1965) ... The problem of violence features purely in the context of African attempts to achieve their ends, and of communism. There is no suggestion that violence might describe State Action" (Linden, 1980 : 92).

The Bishops re-asserted their right to pass judgement on political matters whenever human rights and the salvation of souls made it necessary. The white laity became increasingly alienated from clergy faithful to episcopal

directives. Linden remarks that the entrenched ecclesiocentrism of Catholicism seemed more effective against an aggressive state than the more democratic proposals of the Second Vatican Council!

The Catholic Church in Rhodesia relinquished control of her Black primary schools, while retaining control of white Catholic Secondary schools. The Church appeared to be in a position where she was bargaining about the consequences of a Constitution which she had previously condemned outright. Black Catholics bore the brunt of the growing conflict with the state as well as the consequences of the compromises negotiated with the state. Linden writes "The Rhodesian Church was not so much suffering from dissension, as almost two separate bodies. Although both of these groups proclaimed an allegiance to the Catholic Church and contained churchmen who thought in terms of the continuity of an institution, in reality they were practising two different religions Even though black and white could frequent the altar rail together the Rhodesian society in which they lived made a lie of the eucharist they shared. The Church's sacramental life ended at the Church door where the inhumanity and injustice of Rhodesian society began" (Linden, 1980 : 176-7). The struggle within Rhodesian society was also one within Christianity - in that it concerned the ideological content and practice of a religion.

The Rhodesian war revealed the Church in all its historical actuality. It also seemed to shift the focus of executive action in the Church away from the hierarchy (Linden, 1980 : 236). The Church had disengaged itself from an unjust state. It engaged in consultation, but was lacking in direction. However during the last stages of the war reliable information about life in the war zones and protected villages came almost exclusively through Church channels and the Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace. Many clergy were deported for activities regarded as unsympathetic to the Rhodesian Front

dominated state.

The State assigned to the Churches in Rhodesia, including the Roman Catholic Church, the function of transforming Christianity into an ideology of cohesion and minority dominance. The Church's share in white hegemony had its obligations (Linden, 1980 : 292). The Church had a role to play in social reproduction and in the maintenance of the unity and cohesion of the social formation. However, given the contrasting membership and ideology of Church and State by the 1970's the emergence of conflict is not surprising. This conflict between Church and State only became serious when the illusion of the autonomy of the colonial State gave way to a new configuration of class forces expressed in the State dominated by the Rhodesian Front. This new configuration was reluctant to share control of important ideological apparatuses - the schools, the press and the Church.

Linden concludes that any analysis of the Church must remember that the Church is not a democratic society and must take into account its structure, composition, dynamics of leadership and decision making procedures. That the conflict in Zimbabwe did not move on to create within the Church an awareness of the ideological content of its own teachings and practice must be seen in terms of these parameters.(5)

B.2. THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH IN SOUTH AFRICA

The literature on the role of the Roman Catholic Church in South Africa is sparse and tends to be descriptive rather than analytical. Much of the available literature focuses on the theological content of the church's message and on the nature and relevance of theological debate rather than the socio-political implications of church statements and actions. However, some of the issues raised in the more analytical consideration of the role of other Christian churches in apartheid South Africa are apposite and are therefore

discussed.

W.E. Brown's book 'The Catholic Church in South Africa - From its Origins to the Present Day' (Brown, 1960) gives a comprehensive and detailed account of the history of the Catholic Church in South Africa from the time of Diaz and da Gama to 1959. The book includes an epilogue which gives a documented account of the Catholic Church's response to apartheid from 1948 until 1960 (Brown, 1960 : 338-351).

Brown's narrative gives a full description of the colonial and missionary Church, of its progress and setbacks, hopes and disappointments, of the problems of a Catholic Church in a Calvinist society, of the growth of Catholicism among blacks, of the centrality of Catholic schools in the life of the Church and of its broad ecclesiastical development. This work is indisputably valuable, but there is little critical examination of sources and little attempt to locate the Roman Catholic Church within the structural dynamic of the South African social formation. This account is therefore essentially synchronic and lacking in explanatory value.

John de Gruchy, in his seminal work 'The Church Struggle in South Africa' (de Gruchy, 1982), attempts to analyse the role of the Christian Churches in terms of the social history of South Africa. He writes, "The story of the Church in South Africa demonstrates that religion is directly and intimately related to the socio-political history of the country. One may ask whether or not the Church should have been involved in politics in the ways it has been and still is, but nothing can alter the fact that in South Africa, politics and Church have been, and remain, bound together as one historical drama, one persistent struggle" (de Gruchy, 1982 : 217-218).

De Gruchy describes the tension between the 'settler Church' and the 'mission Church' and the development of separate autonomous Churches for blacks. In

principle the issue of separate Churches for different ethnic groups of Roman Catholics did not arise. Catholic doctrine explicitly forbids this and separation would have meant schism and the violation of the very Catholicity of the Church. However, this in no way meant that racial discrimination was not part of the practice of the Roman Catholic Church (de Gruchy, 1982 : 15-16). It is noted that it was during the post 1948 years and the institutionalized genesis of separate development that apartheid began to affect the life and worship of the Christian Churches very directly. It is further noted that the policies of the Calvinist nationalist government had a distinctly anti-Roman Catholic bias - 'Die Roomse gevaar' (de Gruchy, 1982 : 97).(6)

The invidious position of the Catholic Church in apartheid South Africa, argues de Gruchy, has resulted in a very cautious approach when dealing with hostile authorities. This has meant that the Roman Catholic Church has not been in the forefront of the struggle against racial discrimination in South Africa or at least has not been as visible as other English speaking Churches. However, this trend has gradually been reversed (de Gruchy, 1982 : 97-99). Although the Catholic hierarchy has been increasingly critical of apartheid, there has been considerable reluctance on the part of white Catholics to follow this lead. The result has been considerable tension within the Church. However, de Gruchy places too much emphasis on the anti-Catholic rhetoric of the National Party in explaining the Catholic Church's reluctance to become involved in criticism of apartheid during the early years of Nationalist rule.

Methodist minister and former treason trialist Cedric Mayson commented that the Roman Catholic Church has advanced further and more rapidly than any other Christian Church in recent years in its protestations, teachings and actions against apartheid. However, he further commented that resistance from within that Church itself to the bishops' lead was strong (Mayson, 1984 : 112). Mayson argues that ecclesiastically the Churches are also in need of liberation and

that there is a fundamental link between the structure of the society and the structure of the Churches. The validity of this view must be assessed in terms of the evidence available in order to decide to what extent the church reflects the structures of society. Mayson's work points to the relationship between the Church and the society. The Church cannot be seen 'outside' or 'above' the society in which it operates. The Church is in need of transformation as well and to this end the critical evaluation of the Church is wanting. The divided response of the Church is emphasised.

Another important contribution to any discussion about the South African Catholic Church is a collection of essays edited by Andrew Prior entitled 'Catholics in Apartheid Society'. As the title implies the articles therein attempt to locate and understand the Catholic Church within the particular context of apartheid society (Prior, 1982). The central theme is that the unique character of South African society has created unique problems for the Catholic Church (Prior, 1982 : vii). However, there is little discussion of whether or not the Church contributes to the legitimisation of the societal relations of domination and the maintenance of white supremacy - however unself-consciously. Furthermore, the development of Catholic opposition to apartheid is not related to the political and social developments taking place in the wider society.

However, it is argued that two Catholic Churches are discernable in contemporary South Africa. This separatism is a product of a historically two pronged approach : a settlers' Church for whites and a missionary Church for blacks (Prior, 1982 : 84). The Catholic Church is deeply divided, writes Kiernan "The Church straddles the inequality of society and is torn by it" (Prior, 1982 : 98). The Catholic Church can be understood only with reference to the society of which it is part.

The chapter on 'Roman Catholics' in 'The South African Churches in a

Revolutionary Situation' by Marjorie Hope and James Young is informative but offers little that is analytically useful (Hope and Young, 1981 : 154-168).

A valuable study regarding the role of the Church in society is James Cochrane's book 'Servants of Power - The role of the English Speaking Churches 1903-1930' (Villa-Vicencio, 1988 : 8). The book is subtitled 'Towards a Critical Theology via an Historical Analysis of the Anglican and Methodist Churches' (Cochrane, 1987). Although Cochrane does not explicitly look at the Catholic Church, much of what he writes is pertinent to an analysis of the Roman Catholic Church.

His research does not seek merely to describe the words and deeds of the Anglican and Methodist Churches during a particular period pointing out the various incongruities and compromises but he attempts to understand and explain these processes. The articulation of religious, colonial and racist ideologies is considered. The Church emerges as pious, racist and colonial but it is not only pious, racist and colonial. As a social institution the Church is as vulnerable as any other to contradiction and crisis - that it is religious in no way ensures its cohesion and coherence. The Church is divided and also exists and functions in a divided society. Cochrane argues that the future of the Church in the Southern African region "is unquestionably at stake and within the Church markedly different positions are being adopted" (Cochrane, 1987 : 1).

It is noted that while recent years have seen an increasing amount of socio-political activity, debate and controversy within the Church concerning its response to the political context of South Africa, there is little evidence of an understanding of the historical location of the Church and the influence thereof on contemporary realities. Analyses of the Church have therefore tended to be superficial. Furthermore, one seldom finds any critical reflection on the structures, practices, policies and general ecclesiology of the Church itself. Church history is considered from an essentially internal

perspective and is descriptive in nature. The history of the Church is seen as parallel to that of the broader society and is judged from what Cochrane terms a position of 'ideological captivity' (Cochrane, 1987 : 3-5). He locates the study within a socially critical historio-graphical tradition. Cochrane's study assumes that the period investigated is characterized by a dominant capitalist mode of production and that the relations of domination are defined by this system of production. It is argued that in order to understand the role of the English speaking Churches in South Africa, it is necessary to understand the following three issues. Firstly, the structure and historical nature of domination in South Africa, secondly, the relationship of the Church to this reality, and thirdly, the implications thereof for the interpretation of Church policy, practice and theology.

The Church's ideological captivity was coterminous to the dominant capitalist colonial political economy. However, a clear picture of the specific religious structure of the dominant ideology demands a consideration of the Church's structure of knowledge, that is the self-understanding of the Church in relation to the events and dynamics of the particular period. Also the Church struggle in South Africa is not merely a struggle against the system of apartheid, it is also the struggle of the Church with itself and within itself (Cochrane, 1987 : 150-191). The study attempts to elucidate the empirical conditions of knowledge and action in the Churches. Theology must not be seen as immune to ideological critique and should be approached non-dogmatically. The prominent role of non-theological factors in shaping Church doctrine and practice is clear. The relationship between the theory of the Church, that is its proclamations, policies and theology and its social practice is explored. The extent to which ideology, understood as the concealment of social contradictions in the interests of the dominant class, pervades the public practice of the Church is considered.

The critique of religion as an instance of the general critique of ideology serves to expose the relationship of religion to the interests of the dominant class and the role of religion in concealing reality through illusion or systematic distortion (Cochrane, 1987 : 213).

In conclusion Cochrane argues that the Church itself is also a site of contradiction. It is fraught with contradiction and in the capitalist social formation such contradiction also takes the form of class conflict. The contradictions of South African society bedevil the Church (Cochrane, 1987 : 240-241).

Villa-Vicencio's work 'Trapped in Apartheid - A Socio-Theological History of the English Speaking Churches' is a carefully documented work which assesses the history of the English Speaking Churches in South Africa in terms of their attitudes to apartheid and apartheid processes. Such critical reassessment of the historical identity of the Church is seen as a precondition for ecclesial renewal. This critical analysis, in religious terms, can be seen as acquiring a soteriological function in that it pertains to salvation (Villa-Vicencio, 1988 : 1).

It is pointed out that there has always been a discrepancy between the 'Church of faith' and the 'Church of history'. Also the Church, in common with all social institutions, is subject to history. This study, then, is an attempt to understand the character of the Church in South Africa and to identify its social function in the socio-economic and political development of the country. The English speaking Churches are a product of a particular history and have been shaped by the dominant socio-economic and political forces. Therefore they cannot be understood apart from the forces of racial and economic domination which constitute apartheid. The English speaking Churches have been, and in many ways continue to be, trapped in the ideology of

apartheid. Villa-Vicencio explores the nature and extent of this 'trap'. He points out that until comparatively recently the attitude of these Churches was marked by 'nothing harsh or vigorous'. The Churches were ever heedful of the possible consequences of any criticism of, or confrontation with, the structures of domination.

However, the Church is also subject to another reality, which is the teachings of the gospel and the challenge that these teachings present to the Church for the development of a liberating ecclesiology committed to the transformation of the Church and the society of which it is part. Ambiguity also characterizes the nature of the Church and its relationship to society.

The attempt on the part of the English Speaking Churches to negotiate the complexity of this ambiguity has resulted in an attitude of tolerance of diversity in the interests of unity (Villa-Vicencio, 1988 : 14-15). However, under certain socio-political conditions aspects of Christian theology and teaching which contradict the traditional social location of the Church cause questioning of the social identity of the Church and in turn this enables the Church to initiate change in the broader society.

The Roman Catholic Church is not regarded as part of the group of English speaking Churches under consideration by Villa-Vicencio, as it is neither British in origin nor does it share the characteristics of Protestantism.(7)

However, Villa-Vicencio does note that the Roman Catholic Church has an international tradition of non-racialism and a theological tradition which affirms the inherent dignity of all human beings in a less qualified manner than in Protestantism. He also notes that statements by the Catholic hierarchy on social justice do not always have the support of white Catholics, which calls into question the institutional unity of the Catholic Church.

"Obligated to minister to the needs of both black and white members, and trapped

within the apartheid structures, the Catholic Church fails in praxis to measure up to its own theological ideals of human dignity and that option which requires the Church to declare itself to be on the side of the poor and the oppressed" (Villa-Vicencio, 1988 : 37).

Much of the literature discussed above focuses on the unity of the Church and how this unity is compromised by the realities of apartheid society. However, the supposed unity of the Church may also serve to conceal the contradictions and divisions present within the Church between black Catholics and white Catholics, between middle class Catholics and working class Catholics, between supporters of the policies of the National Party and supporters of the liberation movements. This suggests that the true unity of the Church can only be realized in a transformed society.

In an article entitled 'Christian Resistance to Apartheid: Periodisation and Prognosis' Cochrane offers an evaluation of the nature and extent of the opposition of the Christian churches to apartheid and presents some indications of future developments. He argues that the struggle of the churches against racism is not constant. Furthermore, it is connected to what is actually happening in the broader society. "Thus any one formulation of the meaning of Christian resistance cannot be understood without grasping the particular historical dynamics which make certain things possible and others not" (Cochrane in Prozesky, 1990 : 83). The essay periodizes the development of Christian resistance to apartheid processes and differentiates between historic forms of resistance. Conclusions are drawn about the character of contemporary Christian resistance. The ecclesiological and missiological implications are discussed. A periodised typology of Christian resistance to apartheid in South Africa is hypothesized and developmental phases, regarded as being characteristic, are outlined. These phases are related to major periodic changes in the political economy of South Africa. It is suggested that this periodization

indicates that the understanding of the meaning of Christian resistance to apartheid changes developmentally over time in direct proportion to the developments in the society of which the church is part (Cochrane in Prozesky, 1990 : 94).

In conclusion the review of the literature suggests the following question, 'To what extent has the Roman Catholic Church in South Africa challenged the system of ideological legitimation?' Furthermore, a common theme of much of the literature reviewed is the contradictory social positions which exist within the institution of the Church and which are a source of latent tension (cf. Bradstock, 1987; Houtart and Rousseau, 1970; Linden, 1980; Villa-Vicencio, 1988). It is argued that this reality explains the often divided and confused response of the Church at a particular historical conjuncture.

Those works which focused on the Roman Catholic Church in particular (cf. Bradstock, 1987; Houtart and Rousseau, 1970; Linden, 1980), emphasized the centrality of the unity and catholicity of the Church and the implications thereof for the Church's teaching and pastoral practice. Linden also pointed to the distinctive authority structures of the Catholic Church. Furthermore, the role of the Catholic Church in any local situation cannot be separated from events taking place in the universal Catholic Church, as this informs the response of the local Church. In this regard Bradstock stressed the importance of the Second Vatican Council. Any analysis and evaluation of the Roman Catholic Church in South Africa must take these distinctive features and their significance into account. Chapter Two discusses this 'self-understanding' of the Catholic Church, while Chapter Three outlines contemporary Catholic social teaching, the relevance of Vatican II and post-conciliar theological developments.

An analysis of the South African Catholic Church needs to situate this Church as

a social institution in terms of the dominant terrain in which it functions. The particular social, political and economic conditions which pertain , as well as the 'self-understanding' of the Church at that particular conjuncture, must be taken into account. It is the articulation of these conditions, that is, the socio-political and the eccesiological/theological that is the concern of this dissertation. Chapters Two and Three, which focus on the 'self-understanding' of the Church, also emphasize that this understanding, both historically and contemporaneously, is not without contradiction. Chapters Four and Five examine local conditions and consider the response of the Church to them.

The review of the literature also suggests that the Church, in common with any other institution where the struggle for justice is waged, is a site of struggle. The Catholic Church is arguably a site of struggle on two levels. Firstly, many of the contradictions in the society have been reproduced in the Church, for example, contradictions of race, class and gender. Secondly, the contradictions within the Church itself serve to reproduce the contradictions in other sites thus according them legitimacy. It is the peculiar articulation of these various contradictions which defines the specific role of the Church over and against other institutions of civil society.

According to much of the above literature the Church reflects the society of which it is part. Yet if the Church reflects the realities of the dominant socio-political **system** how can it differ from that system in any significant way? A satisfactory analysis of the role of the Catholic Church would need to address this apparent inconsistency. The Church is affected by social conflict. Cochrane's article argues that periods of heightened political activity and conflict in the broader society correspond to similar periods within the Church (Cochrane, 1990). Such an approach stresses the interaction of the society and the Church.

The approach of the sociology of religion is useful in the consideration of the social role of the religious discourse and in the uncovering of the specific dynamics of Church organization and practice which would help to identify and explain its distinctive role in society.

1

Durkheim held that the birth of religion could always be traced to a society in turmoil (Durkheim, 1976; Houtart and Rousseau, 1971 : 23).

2

The attitude of the Catholic Church toward society during different historical periods is discussed in Chapter Two. The encyclical 'Rerum Novarum' is discussed in greater depth in Chapter Three on the 'Social Teaching of the Catholic Church'.

3

Later in the same book Houtart and Rousseau again stress that the Church is not a monolithic entity and thus it would be incorrect to discuss the Church's attitude to revolution as homogenous and consistent (Houtart and Rousseau, 1971 : 325).

4

Also see : Miguel D'Escoto - Thoughts on the Church Based on the Nicaraguan Experience in 'Concilium' April, 1983 : 38-43; Philip J. Williams - The Catholic Hierarchy in the Nicaraguan Revolution in 'Journal of Latin American Studies' no 17, 1985 : 341-369; Humberto Belli - Breaking Faith. The Sandinista Revolution and Its Impact on Freedom and Christian Faith in Nicaragua, The Puebla Institute, Crossway Books, Westminister, Illinois, 1986; Philip Berryman - The Religious Roots of Rebellion, Orbis Books and SCM Press, 1984.

5

Linden writes that his study should be seen in Gramsci's terms as history and therefore as "an attempt to open up a space in which events can be more realistically evaluated, the future seen more realistically, and new commitments made. Above all it is an attempt to escape from the intellectual hegemony of imperialism which makes of its ideology commonsense, and calls all else ideology" (Linden, 1980 : 296).

6

This anti-Catholic bias was distinctly evident during the 1950's and 1960's with regard to the immigration policies of the Nationalist government which explicitly forbade immigration by Catholics, especially Italians, Greeks and Portuguese (Abraham, 1989 : 25-26; de Gruchy, 1982 : 97). However, during the 1970's this policy was revised and increasing numbers of immigrants from traditionally Catholic countries have settled in South Africa. After the collapse of Portuguese colonialism in Angola and Mozambique many Portuguese-speaking, white Catholics immigrated to South Africa.

7

The category 'English Speaking Churches' is generally understood to refer to the Anglican Church or Church of the Province of South Africa, the Methodist Church of South Africa, the Presbyterian Church of Southern Africa, and the United Congregational Church of Southern Africa (Villa-Vicencio, 1988; de Gruchy, 1979; Cochrane, 1987).

C. SOCIOLOGY OF RELIGION

There are four main approaches to the sociological study of the religious discourse:- that of the believer, that of religious sociology, that of epiphenomenology and that of the 'sociology of religion' (Robertson, 1970; Yinger, 1970). In terms of the first two approaches a socio-political analysis of religion is largely irrelevant. The epiphenomenological approach contrasts strongly with the first two views. It is associated with Feuerbach and Marx and holds that religion is a secondary phenomenon accompanying another and caused by it. This view does not doubt the reality and importance of religion for the believer but asserts that religion can only be understood by uncovering its real underlying bases and translating these into empirical terms, for example, religion as the expression and consequence of social alienation (Baum, 1975 : 25). The final approach is that of the sociology of religion and it attempts an objective study of the subjective meanings attached by people to their mutual orientations. The sociology of religion assumes that religious behaviours are, in the first instance, 'sui generis'. This approach is particularly associated with the work of Comte, Durkheim and Max Weber. The practice of religion issues forth in particular instances toward the society. These instances in turn play a role in the structure and functioning of the society in which they occur. These functions may be latent in that they may not be consciously intended by the 'actors' but nevertheless have implications for the society, or they may be manifest and their consequences intended by the adherents of a particular religious belief.

The above approaches to the study of religion are by no means mutually exclusive. However, the first two are not analytically useful. The epiphenomenological approach and that of the sociology of religion both have an analytical contribution to make to the understanding of the role of religion

in society and therefore are discussed.

Durkheim's conceptualization of religion is premised on the dichotomy of the 'sacred' and the 'profane' (Giddens, 1978 : 84-85). In "The Elementary Forms of Religious Life", one of the classics in the Sociology of Religion, Durkheim focuses on the functional role of religion in society and posits his famous definition of religion as "a unifying system of beliefs and practices relevant to sacred things - that is to say things set apart and forbidden, beliefs and practices that unite into one single, moral community called a Church all those who adhere to them" (Durkheim, 1976 : 47). According to Durkheim religion involves the existence of a church which designates a regularized social organization of believers. The social practices associated with religion take place within the context of such an organization. Religion plays an important role in the promotion of social cohesion and the development and maintenance of group solidarity. Religious rites sustain collective ideals.

Religion is seen as a fundamentally social phenomenon. Religion reflects the society in which it exists and is an expression of the conditions of social reality which generated it. Three themes emerge: firstly, that religious beliefs express the character of the social totality; secondly, that religion is the original source of all forms of thought which later became secularized; and thirdly, that notwithstanding the decline of the hold of religion over everyday life in the course of social differentiation, the new social ideas preserve an essentially religious character (Berger and Berger, 1972 : 379- 388; Giddens, 1978 : 80).

Giddens points out that nowhere in his writings does Durkheim acknowledge the possibility that religious beliefs are ideologies which contribute to domination of one group by another. Conflict between different interest groups with antagonistic interpretations of the meaning of particular religious ideas

is ignored (Giddens, 1978 : 105).

Various sociologists of religion have suggested other definitions of religion which contain elements useful in sociological study. Robertson writes in his book "The Sociological Interpretation of Religion" that "religious culture is that set of beliefs, symbols (and values deriving directly therefrom) pertaining to a distinction between an empirical and a super-empirical transcendent reality; the affairs of the empirical being subordinated in significance to the non-empirical. Second, we define religious action simply as: action shaped by an acknowledgement of the empirical/super-empirical distinction. These definitions constitute merely an analytic base-line" (Robertson, 1970 : 47).

Yinger observes that there is no definition of religion that is correct and satisfactory for all. However, he posits an operational definition of religion as follows:

"Where one finds awareness of and interest in the continuing, recurrent, permanent problems of human existence - the human condition itself, as contrasted with specific problems, where one finds rites and shared beliefs relevant to that awareness, which define the strategy of an ultimate victory: and where one has groups organized to heighten that awareness and to teach and maintain those rites and beliefs - there one has religion"
(Yinger, 1970 : 33).

This definition has three levels. It combines an individual character aspect, a cultural aspect and a social structural aspect. The sociology of religion therefore is understood as the study of the ways in which society, culture and character influence religion in terms of its origins, doctrines, structures, location and practices. Furthermore, the sociology of religion is also the study of the ways in which religion affects society, culture and character - the processes of social conservation and social change. The emphasis is on the interactive nature of these various factors.

From the perspective of the sociology of religion theological considerations in themselves are not at issue. Rather the focus is on the consideration of

religion in its organizational and institutional forms as well as on the content and social implications of religious thought.

Comte dealt with the issue of religion in terms of his theory of secularization, that is the decline in the temporal power of the feudal Catholic Church, the growing separation of Church and state and the concomitant rise of modern society. According to Comte, Catholic feudalism was marked by universalism (that is one Church), religious organization independent of political power structures and the attempt to regulate all aspects of human life. Comte termed this 'defensive monotheism'. Modern society is characterized by the rise of the individual and the differentiation of social institutions (the state, the family, the Church), culminating in the emergence of a 'sociocracy'. This 'sociological priesthood' would foster continuity between nations and solidarity between classes and be responsible for the censorship of all morals. Regulative control is an important theme (Parsons, T. (ed), 1965 : 646-656; 1332-1342).

The German sociologist, Max Weber, argued in his classic and controversial essay 'The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism' (Weber, 1967) that religion was not merely an effect of other social structures, for example the economy, but that the development of Western Capitalism was facilitated by certain aspects of the Protestant Ethic. Religion was not just an epiphenomenon. Thus the religious sphere is accorded some independence. The emphasis is on the conditions and effects of a particular type of 'social action'. Social action is constituted by two dimensions namely behaviour and meaning, that is, respectively by an external aspect which is measureable and by an internal dimension which is not measureable but which is understandable. Sociology therefore includes the task of interpretation and has both scientific and hermeneutic aspects. Weber's sociology of religion was concerned not with religion in itself but rather with the role of religion in society, its consequences for everyday life and its influence on economic, political,

administrative and moral behaviour in different historical circumstances (MacRae, 1979 : 80-81).

David Laitin in his study 'Hegemony and Culture - Political and Religious Change among the Yoruba' argues that the essence of Weber's contribution was to see religion itself as a product of its times, and often of a particular class with its own social needs. The interaction between the founding doctrine and the social, political and economic conditions of the time produces what might be called the practical religion. This can have an independent effect on political life, often quite different from the political or economic intentions originally propagated, and is, in turn, constantly being influenced by contemporary social conditions. Hence for Weber, religion comprises a set of theological ideas which have been mediated by the social, economic and political realities of various historical periods and those of the different areas to which these ideas have spread. Thus religion and the religious ethic play a role in the shaping of the wider society. Laitin continues that an amended Weberian framework should also attempt to incorporate the dialectical nature of the religious impact on society (Laitin, 1986 : 24).

The notion which pervades Weber's work on the sociology of religion is that religious beliefs legitimize particular group interests. Such an analysis shifts the emphasis from the definition and explanation of religious phenomena to an analysis of the role that religion and the religious ethic plays in the shaping of the wider society. The latter is the focus of this dissertation.

Weber developed an 'ideal type' typology which he employed in his writings on religion - that of the 'Church' and that of the 'sect'. His conception of the features of the 'Church type' are of particular use here. Weber's 'Church type' is characterized by the following four features: firstly, a professional priesthood; secondly, a claim to an universal pre-eminence or catholicity which

overrides national or ethnic divisions; thirdly, the rationalization of dogma, that is, the formal statement and authoritative proclamation of doctrines and the strict, systematic observance of rituals and practices; fourthly, the occurrence of all the above within the framework of an organizational structure and hierarchy. A Church is endowed with, what Weber termed, the 'charisma of office' and regards itself as the guardian of a trust responsible for its faithful regulation and administration.

Ernest Troeltsch further developed this typology. The church-dominated organizational form perceives itself as possessing absolute divine truth as well as the authority to administer this universal truth. The Church ethic becomes the ethic of civilization. The best example of the 'Church type' is the Roman Catholic Church during the period subsequent to the Gregorian reforms which centralised the power of the Church in the 13th century. This was the zenith of the feudal Catholic Church.

Troeltsch suggests that religion, as expressed in the 'Church' sociological type, is a basis for conservatism. In class terms the 'Church' type is all embracing and includes representatives from all social and economic groupings. It is 'universal' in that it desires to cover the whole life of humanity. This institutional Church tends to accept the secular order and so becomes an integral part of the existing social order. Sects are formed by dissenting minorities (Troeltsch, 1956 : 328-343; Fierro, 1977 : 136-137; Yinger, 1970 : 252-256). This analysis does give expression to two traditions within Christian history, that of 'compromising' and 'uncompromising' religion. These

traditions, although often separated, are nevertheless held in creative tension. During this dissertation these contradictory aspects of religion will be discussed in relation to the Roman Catholic Church in South Africa.

The growth of secularization and the emergence of modern society has been marked by a structural differentiation of institutions, which have become increasingly disengaged from the religious. According to Herbert Spencer these processes have had four major implications for religious organization. Firstly, the Church loses its coercive authority. Secondly, there is increased religious differentiation and growth in the number of religious groupings. Thirdly, the centralized authority and power of the Church is declining while increased authority is accorded to local Church organization. Fourthly, there is increased emphasis on the role of the individual and on personal morality rather than on Church doctrines and rituals of worship (Spencer, 1975). Sectors of society and culture are removed from the domination of religious institutions and symbols (Berger, 1969 : 113). Secularization has also resulted in the widespread collapse of the plausibility of traditional religious definitions of reality.

Weber and Troeltch both emphasized that religious developments have a close connection to the social context in which they take place. Weber developed the notion of the relationship between religion and domination. Peter Berger affirms that religion has been the most common and effective instrument of social legitimation because it links the precarious structures of society to an absolute reality (Berger, 1969 : 41). The main purpose of this system of legitimation is the maintenance of social cohesion. Legitimation means socially objectivated knowledge which serves to explain and justify the social order. Legitimations propose and affirm the 'status quo'. The necessity for legitimation is grounded in the problems of socialization and social control. Legitimations also occur on various levels. Religion is rooted in the practical concerns of everyday life. Berger continues that religious legitimations arise from human activity but become merged into complexes of meaning which in turn become part of a religious tradition wherein a measure of autonomy is attained. The same human activity that produces society also produces religion. There is

a dialectical relationship between these products. The sociology of religion has been able to show that there is a close relationship between religion and social solidarity. It has also suggested that religion appears in history both "as a world maintaining and as a world shaking force" (Berger, 1969 : 106). Religion is not necessarily a conservative social force and does not always legitimate the 'status quo'. It may challenge the established order and provide support for opposition to this order. This raises the question of what kind of social legitimation does religion provide in a particular set of social conditions. This question is relevant to the consideration of the role of the Roman Catholic Church in South Africa. The issue of social solidarity also links up with the theme of unity suggested by the review of the literature.

The theologian Reinhold Niebuhr argued that theological opinions have their roots in the relationship of the religious life to the cultural and political conditions prevailing in organizational groups of Christians (Fierro, 1977 : 137). Similarly, the Theology of Liberation defines itself as a contextual theology (Assman, 1975; Boff, 1972; 1984; 1985; Bonino, 1980; Fierro, 1977; Gibellini, 1979; 1987; Gutierrez, 1974; 1983; Nolan, 1977; 1987; Segunda, 1974; Sobrino, 1978; 1987). Here theology is understood as reflection on faith and the circumstances in which faith is lived. Contextual theology involves critical reflection on human praxis and emphasizes the unity of theory and practice, of faith and life. Furthermore, liberation theologians argue that the life of the Church can be analysed theologically in terms of the 'signs of the times' (Gutierrez, 1974). Clodovis Boff analysed the epistemological basis of Liberation Theology and asserted that epistemologically this theology adopts a socio-analytical mediation and this encounter between theology and sociology provides the theoretical basis for the Theology of Liberation (Boff in Gibellini, 1987 : 88-90). In the employment of the tool of social analysis, "The Latin American theologians have opted for a conflictual

sociological model, making use of a marxist-style class analysis, which brings to light not the stability but the contradictions present in the social order and orients the imagination towards the transformation of the present system. In this perspective, social science and emancipatory commitment cannot be separated" (Baum, 1979 : 12-13).

This emphasis points to a sociology of religion from another perspective, namely, that of historical materialism. Here the contribution of Otto Maduro is pertinent. He analyses the religious sphere both as a product of social conflicts and at the same time as a relatively autonomous terrain of social conflicts. The emphasis is on the dynamic between religion and the society of which it is part.

Before discussing Maduro and the sociology of religion, a brief look at Marx's theory of religion is necessary. Marx's writings on religion are fragmentary and inimical (Giddens, 1978 : 206-207). Marx's 'Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right' contains his best known exposition of the role of religion in society. It is both poignant and ambiguous.

"Religious suffering is at one and the same time the expression of real suffering and a protest against real suffering. Religion is the sigh of the oppressed creature, the heart of a heartless world and the soul of soulless conditions. It is the opium of the people" (Marx, 1981 : 244).

Marx's approach to the analysis of religion is epiphenomenological. In Marx's 'Early Writings' (Marx, 1981) religion is seen as a manifestation of secular conditions and as a gauge of society's social injustice. It is the product of the alienation inflicted on human life by the contradictions in the social order, by the antithesis between people and their social being. Religion also serves to protect and perpetuate this alienation (Baum, 1975 : 21-41). In these writings religion is seen as an expression and consequence of social alienation. According to Marx religion is rooted in the material conditions of life i.e. in

the relations of production. As he and Engels wrote in the 'German Ideology', "Morality religion, metaphysics, all the rest of ideology and their corresponding forms of consciousness, thus no longer retain any semblance of independence. They have no history, no development, but men, developing their material production and their material intercourse, alter, along with this their real existence, their thinking and the products of their thinking. Life is not determined by consciousness, but consciousness by life" (Marx and Engels, 1982 : 47).

Ideas, therefore, are social products which cannot be understood outside of history. People exist only in the context of specific societies which change in the course of historical development. In the 'German Ideology' Marx and Engels asserted the priority of being over consciousness and of materialism over idealism. They thus laid the basis for an historical materialist analysis whereby the way in which humanity organizes its material production constitutes the base of all social organization. However, Marx did not dismiss the role of ideas.

In Marx's 'Early Writings', in which he deals with the issue of religion, however briefly and obliquely, there are two main themes. (1) Firstly, there is the concept of 'false consciousness', that is, the perception of present reality as opposed to present objective reality. People as social beings and as members of a given social class share an illusionary or false consciousness of social and economic realities. Secondly, all ideologies are neither objective nor immutable. Mystification is implicit in both these themes. Ideas are seen as inevitably ideological in that they serve the interests of a particular class.

This imperfect/false mode of consciousness will continue to exist as long as bourgeois society premised on the division of labour endures (Marx and Engels, 1982). Marx writes that "the abolition of religion as the illusory happiness of the people is the demand for their real happiness. To call on them to give up their illusions about their condition is to call on them to give up a condition that requires illusions. The criticism of religion is

therefore in embryo the criticism of that vale of tears of which religion is the halo" (Marx, 1981 : 244). However, it could be argued that while religious ideology serves to legitimate earthly exploitation and misery, it does contain some constant and critical elements. Religion retains a positive vision of a better world and in so doing constitutes "a protest against real suffering" (Marx, 1981 : 244, Giddens, 1978; Baum, 1975).

The above suggests that while for Marx religion clearly played a conservative and even reactionary role in society, he grudgingly acknowledged that this role is not without contradiction. It is this contradiction vis-a-vis society that is the focus of Otto Maduro's work on religion and social conflicts. "The religious sphere can be considered as a 'product' of social conflicts, but at the same time it is a relatively autonomous 'terrain' of social conflicts. That is, social conflicts have a profound influence on religion, but religion in its turn, with its relative autonomy, has its effects upon the conflicts, whether for the reinforcement of the power of the dominating class, or as a delegitimising force fostering the construction of a new society" (Maduro, 1982 : xxii).

According to Maduro religion must be understood as socially situated. Religion does not operate in a vacuum but within the context of a particular milieu. People sharing a religion share elements of a collective life. Furthermore, religion always operates within a society already structured in a particular manner and so is both limited and orientated by this social context. The possibilities for action are bounded by this social reality. The implication is that religion can be as rightwing as the most conservative elements in the society but it can also be as progressive as the most leftwing. The full spectrum of possibility open to the society is likewise available to religion (Maduro, 1982 : 41-43).

Maduro cautiously adopts the sociological hypothesis that the structure of society is premised on the mode of production. In terms of this framework he suggests that every religion is situated in a specific mode of production. Such a perspective differs from that of Marx and even Weber. Madura continues that the activity of any religion is limited and orientated by the specific mode of production within which it functions (Maduro, 1982 : 46). Religion therefore operates in the midst of concrete social classes. Maduro argues that "the religious activity of any group of believers within a class society is an activity objectively situated within an objectively conflictive structure of social dominance" (Maduro, 1982 : 50). Furthermore, within class society the perceptions of any individual or group correspond to their social condition and class position and are opposed to those of other class positions within the same society. In class society the dynamics of domination impose their limitations and orientations upon the reading, interpretation and proclamation of religion. In turn, however, class resistance to domination will impose its own orientations and limitations upon the reading, interpretation and proclamation of any religion operating within the dominated classes (Maduro, 1982 : 67-77). The dominant class struggles for hegemony while the dominated classes struggle for autonomy. Society indeed acts on religion, but religion, because of its relative autonomy, also has an effect on society. Religion is an active agent in social conflicts. This 'relative autonomy' on the part of religion is threefold:- a subjective dimension, an objective dimension, and an institutional dimension (Maduro, 1982 : 87-88).(2)

The religious field, then, is partially conditioned by social structures, conflicts and changes but at the same time is relatively autonomous in terms of the above internal dynamics which mediate the effect of external influences. There is a frequent correspondence between the social relationships of dominance in the religious field and those in the broader society. A religion has a

history and a tradition, a teaching and an organization. Each of these elements acts as a social force, shaping the experience and actions of the religious institution. Religion, in turn, affects the behaviour of believers and constitutes a basic element of their consciousness, identity and worldview. Religion thus has an impact on the society. The religious area is one in which society acts upon itself. It is an area in which social relationships are produced, reproduced and transformed. However, the functions of a religion in a determinate social context can vary, that is, religion can perform contradictory social functions. These contradictory social functions are of sociological interest and are the concern of this dissertation.

Religion may play a conservative role by reinforcing the power of the dominant class by contributing to the extension, intensification or consolidation of its hegemony. Alternatively, religion can play a revolutionary role in undermining the dominant ideology and challenging its hegemonic role. Maduro writes, "Under determinate social conditions, and in the presence of a determinate internal situation in the religious area, certain religious practices, teachings and institutions perform, in class societies, a role that is favorable to the autonomous development of certain subordinate classes, and to the reinforcement of their alliances against domination" (Maduro, 1982 : 136). The issue of hegemony will be discussed again later in this chapter.

An important contribution to the field of religious sociology that is useful to a consideration of the Roman Catholic Church is Avery Dulles' book 'Models of the Church - A Critical Assessment of the Church in All Its Aspects'. The historical and contemporary diversity of the Church has not been overlooked by the Church itself. The various models suggested by Dulles provide a framework in terms of which the Church may attempt to explain internal differences in emphases, outlook and priorities.

Dulles advances five major models in what he terms "the search for a balanced theology of the Church" (Dulles, 1976). The five ecclesiological types discussed are: the Church as an institution; the Church as a mystical community; the Church as sacrament; the Church as herald and the Church as servant. Each model emphasises certain aspects of the Church that are less evident in other models. Dulles contends that in the language of faith the Church is a mystery, but the use of analogies can assist in understanding it. While utilizing contributions from the social sciences, his method of analysis is essentially theological and ecclesiological - that is, the approach of religious sociology rather than the sociology of religion.

The Church has a distinct organizational structure and therefore can be viewed as a social institution and can be studied as such. Dulles continues that in order to develop a comprehensive understanding of the Church the different models or typologies need to be juxtaposed. These models will either complement or conflict with one another. Dulles' emphasis tends to be on the consensual rather than the conflictual. Models, employed reflectively and critically, enhance the theoretical understanding of a reality, says Dulles. Realities which

have "a sufficient functional correspondence with the object under study ... provide conceptual tools and vocabulary, they hold together facts that would otherwise seem unrelated, they suggest consequences that may be verified by experiment" (Dulles, 1976). This approach emphasises the interdependence of the different models of the Church and their interaction in maintaining the apparent unity of the Church. It is argued that the use of models in theology is either explanatory or exploratory. The former is concerned with the synthesis of what is already known, while the latter is concerned with the ongoing experience of the Christian community which may discover aspects of the gospel of which Christians were not previously aware. (3)

Each model of the Church has its weaknesses. It is advisable to recognize the manifest images given to the Church by scripture and tradition as mutually complementary. The models can then be seen as interpretative and as qualifying one another.

The institutional model sees the Church as a society subordinate to no other and lacking nothing required for its own institutional completeness. The Church is defined primarily in terms of its visible structures and especially the rights and powers pertaining to it.(4) The institutionalist ecclesiology divides the powers and functions of the Church into teaching, sanctifying and governing. Teaching is juridicized. There is a hierarchical conception of authority while clericalism, juridicism and triumphalism dominate the life of the Church. There are many similarities with the secular order. The emphasis is on tradition rather than on scripture and biblical study. The Church is the means of salvation and outside of the Church there is no redemption. Successes can be statistically measured and missionary work is crucial. This model of the Church was dominant from the time of the counter reformation to after World War II. The Church is a total institution - it exists for its own sake and serves others only by self aggrandizement.

In discussing the Church as a mystical communion model, Dulles employs Ferdinand Tonnies' classic distinction between 'Gesellschaft' (community - stressing primary, traditional and integrated values) and 'Gemeinschaft' (society - stressing impersonal, secondary and socially differentiated values). The Church is essentially a community - ('Gemeinschaft') and its outer core is society ('Gesellschaft'). The society is the outward manifestation of the community and it exists in order to promote the realization of the community. In its ultimate reality the Church is a fellowship of persons. There is a return to biblical and patristic sources. Vatican II was clearly in favour of this option. The Church is seen as a great community made up of many interlocking communities.

The primary factor that binds the members of the Church to each other is the reconciling grace of Christ.

The next model is that of the Church as sacrament. Vatican II proclaimed that by virtue of its relationship to Christ the Church is a sacrament of intimate union with God and of the unity of all people. Sacramental ecclesiology supports the best features of the previous models. The Church is a sign of the grace of God in the world.

The emphasis of the Church as herald model is the proclamation of the Word of God. This model is kerygmatic in that the Church is understood as having a message with the commission to proclaim it. This is an essentially protestant outlook, observes Dulles, and has little in common with traditional catholicism.

Finally, the Church as servant is discussed. This model can be termed that of 'secular-dialogue' - the term 'secular' being used because the Church takes the world as a theological locus and seeks to discern 'the signs of the times' and 'dialogue' because it seeks to operate on the frontier between the contemporary world and Christian tradition. The mission of the Church is prophetic and it seeks to give the Church a new relevance, a new vitality, a new modernity However, this model is also the model of which Dulles is most critical. He argues that this option is not biblically based. However, he does concede that the stress on the servant Church may be a sign of spiritual progress but such service must be carefully nuanced so as to keep alive the distinctive mission and identity of the Church.

Dulles' models are sociologically useful in that they suggest that a full understanding of the Church would need to take into account the interaction of these models and their differences in theological and pastoral emphasis.

Although such diversity may suggest richness to Dulles it also points to the possibility of conflict, tension and division. Dulles clearly favours a consensus framework of society but it would be mistaken to assume the comfortable unity of all the differing elements in the various models. They represent different directions for the Church which are not necessarily complementary. Dulles' approach assumes that the unity of the Church is both spiritually and socially guaranteed. He does not see the Church as playing a role in social conflict. He is most critical of the 'church as servant' model, that is, the model which most challenges a consensus perspective of society.

However, the approach of the Catholic sociologist and theologian Gregory Baum is more comprehensive. He focuses on the relation of Catholic theology to society and the struggle for social justice. This focus has guided the dialogue he has entertained with critical social theory. He suggests that the discourse between Christian theology and critical social theory has discerned that religious statements and attitudes have political meaning and contribute in one way or another to the building of society (Baum, 1987 : 261). The emphasis is on the social implications of the practice of religion. These implications are not pre-ordained. The task of critical social theory is to establish the nature of these social implications and their articulation in particular social circumstances. The social implications of the Christian message thus come to the fore.

Similarly, Erich Fromm focuses on the social implications of the practice of religion. He proposes that the question for the social sciences "is not religion or not but what kind of religion, whether it is one furthering man's development, the unfolding of his specifically human powers, or one paralyzing them" (Fromm, 1967 : 26). He continues that it is important to distinguish between authoritarian and humanistic religions. Moreover, this distinction not only cuts across different religions, but can exist within the same religion.

The history of Christianity has been marked by conflict between authoritarian and humanistic principles.

The core of the critical theory of religion is the dialectical relation between society, state and history on the one hand, and the religious superstructure on the other. (5) From the perspective of such a critical theory, Christianity has not been critical enough. It frequently has failed to present the ideals of goodness, justice and love to an unjust society and state, becoming an ideology justifying the establishment (Siebert in Concilium vol. 10, no. 1, 1974).

The 'World Assembly of Christians for Socialism' meeting in 1984 examined the present attitude toward Marxism of Christians involved in liberation struggles. It was noted that there are Christians who have adopted a class analysis and this, it was argued, implies the adoption of Marxism as a framework for the analysis of society. It was further noted that this choice was historically based on 'taking the side of the poor' in terms of the demands of faith. It was argued that a class analysis made clear the dynamics of society as a whole as well as those in particular of the Church, of the bible and of theology. The application of a class analysis to religious phenomena has sharpened the critique of the institutional Church and its frequent political, economic, cultural and theological collusion with the ruling classes (Coeli-Special Issue on the 'World Assembly of Christians for Socialism' no. 29, 30 March 1984). The usefulness of a Marxist/historical materialist approach to social research will now be discussed.

D. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

In sociological research, theory provides strategies and procedures for the handling of research data as well as concepts and methods for the description and explanation of research material. The interrelated tasks of theory in sociological research and analysis are:- to assist in the prediction and explanation of phenomena; to provide perspective for research planning; to assist in the generation of grounded theory, that is, theory construction. Theory has a role to play in both the production and interpretation of the research material (Cicourel, 1964; Glaser and Strauss, 1967).

The theoretical framework employed during the course of this research is that of historical materialism. This approach provides a conceptual framework within which social relations as a whole can be both studied and explained. Bottomore argues that historical materialism has become firmly established as one of the major approaches in sociological theory. He continues that this is demonstratively due to the comprehensiveness and explanatory power of the approach (Bottomore in Mc Lellan, 1983 : 141). Similarly, the historian E.J. Hobsbawm asserts his conviction that Marx's approach to the analysis of society "is still the only one which enables us to explain the entire span of human history and forms the most fruitful starting point for modern discussion" (Hobsbawm in Blackburn, 1979 : 282).

Historical materialism is a theory of the development of human society. It is a theory in which the real relations between the economic, the political and the historical processes of society are made explicit. According to Marx's 'materialist conception of history' the way in which human society organizes its material production constitutes the base of all social organization. Material production is thus the real basis of life and social development. It is the dialectic between the productive forces and the social relations of production which, in the main, determines the succession of the great epochs

in human history. Humanity makes its own history. Humanity is also the product of given material conditions but these in turn are products of human social practice. The dialectic has both a subjective and objective dimension. Historical materialism is a flexible tool of analysis of the social formation. It is a dynamic theory in that it conceives social structures as containing a contradiction or contradictions which constitute the dynamic element which facilitates change from one historical form of society or social organization into another. It is a synthetic theory of progressive change. In terms of dialectics or the logic of motion, change takes place as a result of internal contradictions existing simultaneously within a structure. These contradictions may be various and differ in nature and importance - some may be internal to the system and others may exist between the system and other systems. Social analysis involves the discovery of these contradictions which are not necessarily self-evident.

The analysis of society and the dynamics of social action are both the object and aim of social science. Historical materialism provides an approach to the understanding of society whereby it can be divided up into economic, cultural, historical, sociological or religious terms and the relationships between the different constitutive divisions or sectors of the society can be identified and described. A comprehensive and dynamic understanding of the social forces and their development in a particular society emerges. This also gives the approach a certain predictive value in that an understanding of the shaping and development of particular social forces assists in the evaluation of their capacity to change and develop into something different. This has implications for social practice and political organization (Bottomore in Mc Lellan, 1983 : 103-141). There is unity of science or social theory and political action. The traditional problematic of thought and matter is replaced by that of theory and practice - praxis.

In their discussion of Marx's methodology Keat and Urry argue that no science could proceed if, firstly, it did not attempt to explain appearances in terms of the reality and, secondly, if it did not show that the appearances are themselves misleading. They continue that, for Marx, the correct method must begin with a certain preliminary observation and conceptualization. This is followed by the use of abstract general principles to reconstitute the concrete as a highly complex combination of many determinations, that is, "a unity of the diverse". The objects of analysis are determined by the complex combinations of relations between the various abstractly realized notions. Thus, a given social group is not seen abstractly but rather as determined by the rich totality of many determinations and relations (Keat and Urry, 1975 : 99-117).

Marx rejects the notion of an ontological opposition between appearance and reality. Social reality is divided into layers or strata and these are all valid in that they represent aspects of social reality - the 'phenomenal forms'. However, they do not in themselves explain the workings of society which can only be understood in terms of the underlying 'real relations'. The 'phenomenal forms' do not simply obscure or conceal the 'real relations'. Rather the 'phenomenal forms' are an effect of the 'real relations'. The task of science therefore "is to penetrate theoretically to reality's underlying forces and structures and in the process to explain the way reality appears in terms of those forces and structures. At the same time this explanatory procedure is also critical" (Edgley in McLellan, 1983 : 283).

The 'phenomenal forms' generated by the underlying social structure play a necessary role in the reproduction of that structure - of the 'status quo'. The responsibility of Marxist social science is the exposition of society's underlying reality. In so doing, social science participates in the subversion of the 'status quo' and in the progressive transformation of society. Social

science is not ideologically neutral. Marxist social theory makes no claim to value freedom. Marxist social science speaks, firstly, of the fundamental changes that are taking place in the society and interprets this changing reality; secondly, it speaks of the power of the ordinary people, specifically the working class, to change society radically by revolution; and, thirdly, it speaks in favour of such revolutionary change and aligns itself with the movements of the working class. The transformation of society will result in the elimination of its basic contradictions (Edgley in McLellan, 1983 : 290-300). So, in addition to being a science, Marxism is revolutionary ideology and constitutes an analysis of society from the viewpoint of the working class (Colletti in Blackburn, 1979 : 369-377). There is a tension between these different yet complementary aspects of Marxism. Marxist social science has a clear emancipatory interest. It leads one to ask illuminating questions about the structure of society.

Historical materialism does not deny the relative autonomy of the various levels of social practice, but it does not study them in isolation from one another. It is a contextual approach. Hobsbawm, in his discussion of Marx's contribution to historiography, points out Marx's concern to locate the complex structural dynamic of every social formation. He continues that Marxism insists on the existence within any society of internal tensions or contradictions which counteract the tendency of the system to maintain and reproduce itself. This emphasis allows Marxism to explain both why and how societies change and transform themselves. The focus is on the existence of social structure and its historicity. This method of social analysis is diachronic, that is, concerned with events and phenomena as they occur and change over a period of time, while most other structural-functionalist and empiricist analyses are synchronic and, as such, concerned with the complex of events existing in a limited time period and ignoring historical antecedents

(Hobsbawm in Blackburn, 1979 : 265-274).

A sociological model, such as that posited by Durkheim, which regards change as exceptional or dysfunctional and envisages the continued existence of a system is clearly inadequate. An adequate and comprehensive model must acknowledge and reflect the simultaneous existence of stabilizing and disruptive elements in any social system. These contradictions are not simply explained. The state and other institutions of social reproduction will tend to legitimize the social order by mediating or controlling class conflict within a framework of institutions and values which, while appearing independent, contribute to the perpetuation of a society which would otherwise be torn apart by its internal tensions and contradictions. Analysis is further complicated by the changing social and political significance of various phenomena in different circumstances (Hobsbawm in Blackburn, 1979 : 280-281).

O'Meara (1983), in his study of the development of Afrikaner nationalism, points out that social reality cannot be explained purely in terms of the conscious meaning of social action, for, to do so would reproduce only the self interpretation and understanding of that particular period. Such an analysis is inherently superficial. Rather, apparent reality must be unmasked to reveal the actual social relations. Although values, beliefs and ideas are aspects, even crucial aspects of social reality, in no way do they constitute a sufficient explanation either of reality or of themselves. No period can be judged merely by its own consciousness of itself, rather, it must be explained from the contradictions of material life. According to Marx both the way in which people experience the world and the ideas which they derive from that experience are a function of the way the world actually is. Ideas, systems and beliefs allow people to make sense of their experience of reality and provide them with a framework within which they can act, survive and function as social beings. Ideas constitute an essential part of the processes of

social reality, in that they form the system of representations through which various groups of social agents define, for themselves, the parameters and limits of social interaction and mediate their social relations. The starting point of any really rigorous analysis is the relations of production and the political and social forms by which the relations of exploitation and domination are mediated (O'Meara, 1983 : 1-17). Religion may be one such social form.

The sociology of religion, which was discussed above, suggests that the church as a religious institution, provides its adherents with a comprehensive set of symbols and practices which attempt to make sense of the total process of living. Believers know their world through a religious worldview and so their activity in the world is directed, as well as limited, by the 'commonsense' perception given them by their religion. 'Commonsense' is the uncritical and largely unconscious manner in which a person perceives the world and which frequently serves to obscure reality. It is the site on which the dominant ideology is constructed but it is also the site of resistance and challenge to this ideology. The ideas of the dominant class are not the only ideas present in society. The notion of 'hegemony' is a useful concept when considering the various ideas and social forces operative in society at a particular conjuncture.

GRAMSCI'S CONCEPT OF HEGEMONY

The writings of Antonio Gramsci furnish many crucial concepts for Marxist political analysis (Hobsbawn, 1962). Gramsci's concept of hegemony is a useful analytical tool in the consideration of the social and political role of religion (Laitin, 1986). Gramsci's distinctive contribution to Marxist theory is his analysis of the complex articulation of the social formation and the development of concepts to assist in this analysis and the understanding of the shifting balance of forces in society. Mouffe argues that the concept of

hegemony opens a new problematic of the role of ideology in the social formation and of the nature of the ideological struggle which provides the basis for an enlarged conception of politics. The parameters of political discourse are, therefore, considerably extended (Mouffe, 1981 : 167-189).

The concept of hegemony explains how a class can establish its cultural and moral superiority or dominance independently of its direct political power. The hegemony of a particular class meant, for Gramsci, that that class had succeeded in persuading the other classes of society to accept its own moral, political and cultural values. The ruling class exercises its hegemony by supplying the system of belief accepted by the subordinated so that they do not question the actions of their rulers. The establishment and maintenance of hegemony is essential for the success and survival of any ruling class.

Gramsci stressed the importance of a change or reform of consciousness in producing a revolution or in achieving ideological hegemony (Gramsci, 1982 : 365-366 : 381). This links up with Houtart and Rousseaus' point that revolution cannot be reduced merely to an outbreak of violence or a seizure of power, rather it involves the withdrawal of collective assent to the existing social system. The whole system of ideological legitimation is challenged.

According to Gramsci, the dominant class and its representatives exercise power over subordinate classes by means of a combination of coercion and persuasion; of force and consent; of authority and hegemony. Hegemony is a relation not of domination by means of force but of consent by means of political and ideological leadership. Hegemony is the organization of consent. There is an emphasis on the importance of culture and its relation to politics. "Culture, at its various levels, unifies in a series of strata, to the extent that they come into contact with each other, a greater or lesser number of individuals who understand each others mode of expression in differing degrees, etc"

(Gramsci, 1982 : 349).

Social conflicts cannot always be reduced to conflicts at the level of the relations of production. There is a link between working class struggles and popular democratic conflicts among other sections of society, who are not members of the working class, but who are also threatened by the coercive authority of the dominant class. Power is diffused throughout civil society and is not confined to the coercive apparatuses of the state. This underscores the need for the building of a broad democratic alliance. The social relations which make up civil society are embodied in a great variety of organizations and institutions including Churches, political parties, trade unions, the mass media, cultural and voluntary organizations (Simon, 1982 : 26-27). There are "a multitude of other so-called private initiatives and activities which tend to the same end - initiatives and activities from the apparatus of the political and cultural hegemony of the ruling classes" (Gramsci, 1982 : 258). Civil society is the sphere of class struggles and of popular democratic struggles. Thus, it is the sphere where hegemony is exercised and the terrain on which classes contest for power.

Hegemony can only be achieved by taking into account the popular and democratic aspirations and struggles of the people, which do not have a necessary explicit class character, for example, struggles against discrimination on the grounds of race, sex, religion or national origin. The political discourse cannot be confined to class interests alone. If a class is to become hegemonic, it has to succeed in combining these popular democratic themes, which do not have a necessary class character, with its own class objectives in order to create a national popular will. This is the only way in which the ideas and aims of a revolutionary class can become deeply rooted among the people. This involves a process of transformation whereby some of the ideological elements and belief systems are rearranged or combined in a different way with new principles.

Furthermore, if the old ideology was a genuinely popular one, then some of the elements to which this popularity was due need to be preserved in the new system - albeit with modifications in form and content. "For Gramsci culture is not an ideological state apparatus and the issue is not to make a clean sweep of bourgeois culture. It must be transformed and submitted to another principle of articulation" (Mouffe, 1981 : 182).

This new ideology cannot simply be imposed on the whole of society. Its development should be gradual and built up in the context of political and economic struggles. This process involves the transformation of 'common sense' and the transformation of the relation of society to its institutions. Gramsci termed this the 'War of Position', in the course of which the working class builds up a bloc of social forces and vantage points in civil society cemented by a common conception of the world. A hegemonic class is one which gains the consent of other classes and social forces through creating and maintaining a system of alliances by means of political and ideological struggle. The hegemonic class both dominates and leads. It leads the classes which are its allies (kindred and allied groupings) and dominates those which are its enemies. So even before attaining governmental power a class can and must lead, that is, exercise 'intellectual and moral leadership' - indeed this is one of the principle conditions for the winning of such power. Once power is attained it becomes dominant, but continues to lead as well. There can and must be political hegemony before the attainment of governmental power. Moreover, governmental power should not rely solely on the authority and material force which such a position gives in order to exercise political leadership or hegemony (Gramsci, 1982 : 57-58).

The transformation of the social relations of civil society lays the basis for the transformation of the state apparatuses and the re-organization of civil society. Once a class has put itself in a hegemonic position, it provides

the ideological and political parameters for society as a whole. It must be stressed that the political development of the concept of hegemony represents a great philosophical advance as well as a politico-practical one. For it necessarily supposes an 'intellectual unity and an ethic in conformity with a conception of reality which has gone beyond commonsense and has become, if only within narrow limits, a critical conception (Gramsci, 1982 : 333-334).

Mouffe points out that for Gramsci the struggle is within ideology and not, as for Althusser, a struggle between ideologies. Therefore, ideological struggle should be seen as taking place within existing ideological formations in order to modify their principle of articulation. Gramsci saw ideology as a practice producing 'subjects' and as 'cement' for the social formation (Mouffe in Bridges and Bruid, 1981 : 175-185). Ideologies are thus embodied in the communal modes of living and acting. According to Gramsci an ideology is not to be judged by its truth or falsity but by its efficacy in binding together a bloc of diverse social elements, and in acting as 'cement' or as an agent of social unification (Simon, 1982 : 58-61).(6)

The Church represents part of civil society (Gramsci, 1982 : 245). While religion and common sense do not coincide, religion is an element of fragmented common sense (Gramsci, 1982 : 325). Gramsci adds that "Religion and common sense cannot constitute an intellectual order because they cannot be reduced to unity and coherence even within an individual consciousness, let alone collective consciousness" (Gramsci, 1982 : 326). However, in a secular sense, religion may be understood as a unity of faith between a conception of the world and a corresponding norm of conduct. This unity of faith could also be termed 'ideology' or even 'politics', where 'politics' is understood as conscious action in pursuit of a common social goal (Larrain, 1983 : 80). The concept of hegemony supersedes any narrow conception of politics, thus

extending the terrain of political struggle. Gramsci also notes that religion and other international organizations such as Freemasonry, Rotarianism, the Jews and career diplomacy have always been a source of national and international ideological-political combinations which interact with local conditions and combinations and so contribute to "new unique and historically concrete combinations" (Gramsci, 1982 : 182). These play a role in the 'relation of forces' within the social formation. The ideological unity of the entire social bloc is not guaranteed. The masses have a contradictory consciousness with latent critical elements. Laitin stresses that in terms of this contradictory consciousness the dominated class should be seen not as merely sharing a dominant ideology with the ruling class but, instead, as being in simultaneous possession of ideas which support and challenge political authority in the society (Laitin, 1986 : 106). Moreover, the relationship between the dominant ideology and 'common sense' is not hierarchically fixed but driven by the class contradictions within it. The conflicts which are the consequence of these contradictions contribute to a crisis in the hegemony of the dominant group. The concept of hegemony has explanatory power and therefore is useful in the consideration of the political role played by the Catholic Church in South Africa. It is within the enlarged conception of politics suggested by the concept of hegemony that the Church plays a role.

This study considers whether or not the Catholic Church in South Africa has undermined the hegemony of apartheid and fostered the hegemony of the oppressed and dominated social groupings. How effectively has the Catholic Church challenged that system of belief accepted by the subordinated so that they do not question the actions of the superordinate social grouping? To what extent is the Catholic Church part of the broad democratic alliance against apartheid? Is the Catholic Church a 'kindred' or 'allied' group to those groupings

struggling against apartheid domination? To what extent does the Catholic Church reflect the struggle for hegemony taking place in civil society as a whole? These questions are useful in exploring the socio-political role of the Roman Catholic Church in South Africa during the apartheid era - a period of social conflict and transition.

CONTENT ANALYSIS AS A RESEARCH METHOD

During this dissertation content analysis is employed as a research tool. This refers to the identification of certain characteristics in terms of their frequency of occurrence within a selected contextual medium. This research method is used to identify emerging trends and dominant themes (Crano and Brewer, 1973; Pools, 1959; Berelson in Lindzey, 1959).

Content analysis falls within the realm of hermeneutics or interpretative sociology in that, "the content analyst is concerned with the particular content of a message and the particular manner in which the content is expressed" (Crano and Brewer, 1973 : 197). Pools stresses that the purpose and situational context of the communication need to be taken into account. It is a contextual approach and is particularly useful in the study of trends over time and in studies to 'get at' what Berelson terms "the spirit of the age" (Berelson in Lindzey, 1959 : 490-503).

Generally content analysis is used for hypotheses generation rather than hypotheses testing.(7) Usually reference is made to units for content analysis. However, units of quantification will not be employed in this study. The examination of the relevant documents and other sources will be descriptive rather than systematic. Content analysis is therefore a descriptive, contextual and interpretative approach.

Relevant documents in this study include official Church documents such as pastoral letters, statements and press releases issued by the S.A.C.B.C. and its

commissions and spokesmen from time to time and in response to particular events and circumstances. These authoritative documents will be considered contextually both in terms of the prevailing socio-political circumstances and the social teaching of the Roman Catholic Church as an international/universal institution. The particular characteristics and identifying features of the Catholic Church are outlined in Chapter Two, while the social teaching of the Church is discussed in Chapter Three. A brief history of the Catholic Church in South Africa is sketched in the following section. Appendix II sets out the structures and operating procedures of the S.A.C.B.C. Documents referred to in the text are listed in the references.

Chapters Four and Five focus on the juxtaposition of the ecclesiastical/theological factors and the socio-political circumstances and the response of the Church during the years 1948-1989. Chapter Six attempts to assess this interaction and draw some conclusions regarding the nature of the role played by the Catholic Church in South Africa during this period. This dissertation does not deal with events subsequent to the 2 February 1990 and the role of the Church in these somewhat altered political circumstances.

1

These writings include 'On the Jewish Question' (1843); 'A Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right' (1844); 'Theses on Feuerbach', (1845); 'The German Ideology' (1845-6) and the 'Communist Manifesto' (1847-8). The last two listed were written in conjunction with Frederick Engels.

2

Maduro defines these dimensions as follows:

- a. Subjective dimension - a socially shared religious system and world-view becomes interiorized and introjected by believers. This contributes to a psycho-social consistency among the group and generates a tendency to perpetuate the religious system and render the group resistant to change and thus relatively autonomous.
- b. Objective dimension - every religious system entails a set of socially shared teachings and practices which become objectivized and so socially consistent and further strengthen the tendency to self perpetuation of the religious system.
- c. Institutional dimension - a religious system is produced, reproduced, preserved and propagated by a stable body of organized functionaries. This microsocial consistency consolidates the tendency of any religious system toward self-perpetuation (Maduro, 1982 : 87-88).

3

Dulles uses Kuhn's conception of paradigms and paradigm shifts "The new scientific paradigms have been accepted because without sacrificing the good results attained by previous paradigms, they were able in addition to solve problems that had proved intractable by means of the earlier models" (Dulles, 1976 : 28).

4

Dulles points out that this model should not be confused with the institutional element that is consistently necessary for the performance of the Church's mission - rather than the issue of what form Church organization takes.

5

The critical theory of religion is associated with the critical sociology of the Frankfurt School particularly the work of Horkheimer, Adorno, Marcuse, Fromm, and Habermas ('Religion in the Perspective of Critical Sociology', Rudolf Siebert in Concilium vol.10 no.1, 1974 : 56-69).

6

In discussing the preservation of the ideological unity of the entire social bloc which ideology serves to 'cement' and 'unify' Gramsci remarks that "the strength of religions, and of the Catholic church in particular, has lain, and still lies, in the fact that they feel very strongly the need for the doctrinal unity of the whole mass of the faithful and strive to ensure that the higher intellectual stratum does not get separated from the lower" (Gramsci, 1982 : 328).

7

Hypotheses indicate an inter-relationship between two or more concepts and/or phenomena and combine these in an explanatory or predictive manner (Denzin, 1978 : 59).

E. AN OVERVIEW OF THE HISTORY OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH IN SOUTH AFRICA.

The following is a brief outline of the history of the Roman Catholic Church in South Africa during the period preceding that under consideration in this dissertation, that is, prior to 1948. This provides some background to the development of contemporary South African Catholicism and suggests sources of subsequent Catholic racism, paternalism and complacency.

The history of the Roman Catholic Church in South Africa dates back to the time of Diaz and da Gama and the voyages of discovery undertaken by Catholic Portugal in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Diaz dropped anchor in Algoa Bay and named the place of landing 'Ilheo da Santa Cruz', the Island of the Holy Cross. A stone 'padroes' dedicated to Saint Gregory was erected and mass was offered for the first time on the soil of South Africa (Brown, 1960 : 1). Da Gama continued the quest for the sea route to India, while at the same time committing himself to the spread of the Christian faith. The first Church was built in Mossel Bay in 1501 by the Portuguese (Cawood, 1964 : 70). The Portuguese, however, did not establish a settlement in South Africa. The extent of Catholic proselytisation among the 'Hottentots' is unclear.

One hundred and fifty years after da Gama anchored at Mossel Bay the first decisive colonial foundation was established by Dutch colonists under the governorship of Jan van Riebeeck in 1652. Little evidence remained of the temporary presence of the Roman Catholic Church (Brown, 1960 : 3-5, de Gruchy, 1982).

The Dutch East India Company forbade the practice of Roman Catholicism and no Catholics were allowed to settle. This hostile attitude to Catholicism was reinforced by the revocation of the Edict of Nantes and the arrival of Protestant Huguenot refugees at the Cape. Brown comments that "it is doubtful

whether the mass was offered on South African soil for a hundred years thereafter" (Brown, 1960 : 4). Then in 1804 the Commissioner-General of the Batavian Republic at the Cape, de Mist, published an ordinance assuring religious toleration. Three Catholic priests were immediately dispatched from Holland to minister to the few Catholics at the Cape who had hitherto been denied the pastoral care of their Church. This arrangement was short lived. In early 1806 the British occupied the Cape for the Second time and promptly expelled the Catholic priests.

During the years that followed the arrival of the English settlers in 1820, the restrictions on Catholic clergy were relaxed and the authorities acknowledged that the Roman Catholic community at the Cape was in need of pastoral care. A succession of Catholic chaplains performed this function. In April 1838 Bishop Raymond Griffith arrived at the Cape Colony as Vicar Apostolic with the task of organizing a vicariate and eventually a diocese with the scattered Catholics of the colony. At this stage the Catholics at the Cape numbered some 700 (Brown, 1960 : 8-10). The appointment of Griffith, Brown argues, marks the beginning of the institutional life of the Roman Catholic Church in South Africa.(1)

Although the Roman Catholics were now permitted to practice and have their own chaplains, they were initially discouraged by both the Dutch Reformed Church and the Anglican authorities from undertaking missionary work (de Gruchy, 1982 : 16). Brown remarks that Catholic missionary effort in South Africa was almost exhausted in the early 1870's (Brown, 1960 : 84). Furthermore the ecclesiastical focus was primarily on those members of the European community who were, or who were nominally, Catholic. The first Catholic weekly newspaper was established in late 1850 and was seen as a means of countering attacks on the Catholic religion. The Catholic pioneers were very conscious

of the invidiousness of their position in a Protestant world. However, a number of Catholic schools were started and these schools were open to and attended by Protestants and Jews as well as Catholics.

The last quarter of the nineteenth century was a period of considerable expansion on the part of the Catholic Church in South Africa. The structures, traditions and procedures which had prevailed in Catholic Europe since the feudal period were taking root in South Africa (Brown, 1960 : 85). The Church paid increasingly more attention to missionization amongst the indigenous peoples of Southern Africa (Mc Donagh, 1983). (2) Catholic missionary endeavour was both rapid and successful (de Gruchy, 1982 : 16). The early part of the twentieth century saw a really large accession of converts and various religious orders established schools, hospitals and other institutions to cater for the needs of the growing number of converts to the Catholic faith. (3)

The Catholic missionaries regarded the particular social "habits" of drunkenness, polygamy and magical practices and their ramifications as the primary obstacles to the conversion of the 'native' population. Yet they were certain of the capacity of all human beings to learn and practice the moral law and appreciate 'civilization, knowledge and religion'. Catholic discipline, traditions and moral guidance would facilitate and encourage the assimilation of these values (Brown, 1960 : 220).

The attitude of these missionaries was informed by an understanding of natural law and the system of rights and obligations which pertained to this law. There was no policy of segregation in religious matters. There was no separate autonomous Church for black Catholics and in principle the issue of separate Churches for different racial groups of Catholics did not arise (Brown, 1960 : de Gruchy, 1982 : Prior, 1982). However, this certainly does not suggest that discrimination was absent or that the increasingly

segregationist policies of the broader society did not impinge on the practice of the Catholic Church. The unity of the Church is central to Catholic doctrine and any formal racial separation or schism would be heretical. This issue will be discussed in greater depth later.

This policy was in marked contrast to the segregationist position adopted by the Calvinist Churches, where native converts were encouraged to develop Churches on separate and independent lines rather than to become part of the established European Churches of the same denomination.(4)

The history of the Roman Catholic Church in South Africa cannot be divorced altogether from the Christian missionization which accompanied the occupation and colonization of South Africa by the Dutch and the British. There is a relationship between the ideological domination and the christianization of the indigenous people of South Africa (Legassick in Elphick and Giliomee, 1989 : 339-343). Steve Biko points out that:

"Christianity was made the central point of a culture which brought with it new styles of clothing, new customs, new forms of etiquette, new medical approaches, and perhaps new armaments. The people amongst whom Christianity was spread had to cast away their indigenous clothing, their customs, their beliefs which were all described as being pagan and barbaric ...The Church and its operation in modern-day South Africa has therefore to be looked at in terms of the way it was introduced in this country" (Biko - 'The Church as seen by a Young Layman', 1978).

The right to conquer was often formulated in in terms of religion.

It cannot be argued that the Catholic Church was not part of these processes. Brown refers to Bishop Ricard's book 'The Catholic Church and the Kaffir' written in 1879 which is the first published Catholic account of the attitude of the Roman Catholic Church to the native peoples of the region. Ricard wrote that the Catholic priests of the Cape Province assumed that their converts, whether Hottentot or Black or 'coloured' would become part of the colonial society and that English law would be accepted. Such acceptance would enhance the possibilities of economic advance (Brown,1960 : 202-204). Implicit in such

an outlook is an unqualified acceptance of English law and government on the part of the Roman Catholic Church. Ricard argued that the traditions of the 'Bantu' had failed them and therefore they could only benefit by the abolition of the authority of the tribal chiefs and the breakdown of tribal social institutions and law and the replacement thereof with British administered law and order. Colonialism offered the 'Bantu' civilization and moral improvement.

The Roman Catholic Church was tolerated by the authorities during this period but was religiously isolated. However, in practice its differences with the non-Catholic colonists were not political, cultural or economic, but rather doctrinal and theological (Buis, 1975). The Roman Catholic Church sought to evangelize Blacks in the face of the Anglo-Catholic and Protestant alternatives propagated by other missionary Churches.

This period of Catholic missionary expansion saw the establishment of many more social, educational and charitable institutions. Father Joseph Gerard of the missionary order, the Oblates of Mary Immaculate (O.M.I.), worked among the Basutos of present day Lesotho.(5) Missionary work among the Indians, 'Coloureds' and Blacks in areas of white settlement continued. The Trappist monks undertook missionary work among the Zulus of Natal. They established the Marianhill Monastery which in conception and form was in line with the great monastic missionary institutions of Europe (Brown, 1960 : 230-265, Mc Donagh, 1983 : 47-48).

Bishop Jolivet, when writing to the Cardinal Prefect of Propaganda in Rome concerning the progress of the missions, reported, "Marianhill is the envy of Protestants, and I am proud of it ... One should encourage the collections for the Trappists, who do a work no one else could do. They are humble, pious, mortified and full of affection for their Abbot" (Bishop Jolivet, letter dated 3 June 1890 in Diocesan Archives, Durban, quoted in Brown, 1960 : 236-237).

As Villa-Vicencio points out "Missionaries, no less than other members of society, were not exempt from the social fabric of their respective communities, and that the Churches they represented were an integral part of the socio-economic and political structures of the time" (Villa-Vicencio, 1988 : 43). There is as yet no critical analysis of the missionary work undertaken by the Roman Catholic Church during the latter part of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.(6) However, the literature discussed in this chapter suggests that there are many parallels between the missionary work undertaken by the Roman Catholic Church and that of the English-speaking Churches. The evidence certainly does not indicate that the Roman Catholic Church differed from the colonialist and paternalistic attitudes which characterized the missionaries of the time. It should be noted that Roman Catholic missionary endeavour on any scale was only begun during the latter part of the nineteenth century. The Roman Catholics were therefore the last of the established Churches to engage in missionary work. By this stage white domination in South Africa was clearly established and was accompanied by the progressive breakdown of traditional African society and the erosion of African political and economic power (Elphick and Giliomee, 1989 : 185-194; 339-343; 487-489; 521-530). The activities of the more recent Roman Catholic missionaries further contributed to these processes and reflected the established social relations of domination. The political, social and religious hegemony of the white colonists was not questioned.

Deference to civil authority was a feature of the emerging English-speaking missionary Churches in South Africa (Villa-Vicencio, 1988 : 57). Furthermore, the Anglican Church was the state Church of imperial Britain and the Church of the government in the colonies, and overt criticism of the government was highly unusual. Collusion with government policies was far more frequent than was dissent. The conversion of the "heathen" by the missionary Churches and the

subjugation of the African tribes by the colonial authorities and the military were by no means mutually exclusive. Missionaries played an important intermediary role. The Roman Catholic Church had no direct association with the colonial authorities and while her attitude toward them may or may not have been one of deference, it was one of accommodation. The Catholic Church had only been allowed entry to the region by the good auspices of the British colonial government and she was reluctant to compromise her always tenuous position and antagonize the authorities. There is little evidence to suggest that the absence of these constraints would have resulted in a different attitude toward the political and economic issues of the time.

However, as de Gruchy observes, the impact of the missionaries upon South African society in general was ambiguous (de Gruchy in Villa-Vicencio and de Gruchy, 1985: 88). Some missionary activities were regarded by the authorities as undermining the economic and social interests of white colonial society. The revolutionary potential of the Christian message was being introduced however tentatively. De Gruchy continues that it is in these differing perceptions of the role of the missionaries that the beginnings of the conflict between a 'state' theology which serves the interests of Europeans and their descendants and those theologies which have purported to serve the interests of blacks, albeit sometimes in a spirit of paternalism, can be found.

Catholic missionary endeavour, in spite of its late beginnings and the sometimes anti-Catholic ethos of the colonial society, was remarkably successful. This success is evidenced by contemporary statistics (See Appendix I). The reasons for this success are unclear and it is difficult to suggest possible explanations, and quite beyond the scope of the present work to explore the issue in any depth.(6)

White Catholics took very little responsibility, financial or otherwise, for

the local missionary effort. They appear to have regarded it as the preserve of the clerics and religious communities rather than that of the white laity. The finance for the work of the missions came largely from overseas and from the mother congregations in Europe (Brown, 1960 : 228-229). This reliance on overseas clergy and religious has consistently dogged the South African Catholic Church and continues to do so.

The first Apostolic delegate to the Union of South Africa was appointed by the Vatican in 1922. By this stage the Catholic Church was firmly established in every town of any size in all four of the provinces of the Union. The first Catholic Directory of South Africa was published in 1904. It contained details of Churches, parishes, schools, religious houses etc., as well as a statistical summary. It has since appeared annually. During this period (1891-1924) the 'Catholic Magazine' was produced and published on a monthly basis and circulated throughout South Africa. Its purpose was the education of adult Catholics in their faith and the provision of news concerning the activities and experiences of the Church in the various regions (Brown, 1960 : 271-281, Mc Donough, 1983 : 46).

The encyclical 'Rerum Ecclesial' was proclaimed in 1926 and laid down the principles of the missionary work of the Church between the World Wars. Local born bishops, clergy and religious were recommended. By 1951, 7 priests who had been born in South Africa had been consecrated bishops, nearly 150 South African born priests had been ordained and approximately 700 South African born women had become nuns (Brown, 1960 : 328-329). Religious orders and congregations from Western Europe, Ireland and Canada continued to send personnel to South Africa. Plans were made for the education of local candidates for the priesthood to take place in South Africa, and not abroad as had hitherto been the case. The National Seminary of St John Vianney was opened in 1948. The Oblates of Mary Immaculate also opened a scholasticate as

did the Dominican fathers. These institutions were for the priestly education of whites. Separate training institutions were established for black and coloured candidates to the priesthood. A vigorous campaign aimed at the recruitment of black candidates was launched for, although there had been many black converts, there had not been a corresponding response in terms of black vocations to the priesthood (Jubber in Prior, 1982 : 138).

By the 1940's it was clear that the Roman Catholic Church had emerged as a predominately English-speaking Church. The nascent Afrikaans language did not become part of the experience of the Catholic Church. Church business and education were conducted in English. The mass was said in Latin. The indigenous languages of South Africa did not feature outside the black parishes and not in the official life of the Church.

In 1947 at a general meeting of the ecclesiastical authorities of South Africa held at Marianhill the Southern African Catholic Bishops Conference (S.A.C.B.C.) was established as a permanent consultative and co-ordinating body. This decision was endorsed by the papal Bull 'Suprema Nobis' of 11th January 1951 which established the Hierarchy of the Church in Southern Africa. Four ecclesiastical provinces were created, namely, the Provinces of Cape Town, Pretoria, Durban and Bloemfontein with Metropolitan Archbishops in each centre. These provinces are divided further into sixteen dioceses. Each diocese is headed by a **bishop** (Brown, 1960 : 330-331; Cawood, 1964 : 75).

(See Appendix II)

The establishment of the S.A.C.B.C. broadly coincided with the coming to power of the National party and the introduction of the policy of 'separate development'. The ensuing four decades of apartheid rule and the response of the Catholic Church are the focus of this study.

The role of the Catholic Church in contemporary South Africa must be seen in

terms of its colonial, missionary and racist history. Many of the divisions, tensions and contradictions of today have their origin in these beginnings.

1

In 1988 to mark the 150th anniversary of the arrival of Bishop Patrick Griffith O.P. the first resident bishop and Apostolic vicar to South Africa, the S.A.C.B.C. published Bishop Griffith's diary. The diary covers the period 1837-1839. The diary gives an account of his voyage to and arrival at the Cape Colony, the lives of the pioneer Catholics, his pastoral responsibilities and journeys into the hinterland, the difficulties and plans for the local Church (The Cape Diary of Bishop Griffith O.P. (1837-1839) edited by Professor Joy Brain, S.A.C.B.C., 1988).

2

Eugene de Mazenod, Superior General of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate, wrote to Bishop Allard O.M.I. of the Natal Vicariate on 30 May 1957 reminding him: "It is to the kaffirs that you have been sent: it is their conversion which the Church expects of the holy ministry which has been confided to you". (Quoted in Mc Donagh, 1983 : 46).

3

There are approximately eighty religious congregations in South Africa. There are about twenty one male congregations and fifty nine congregations of sisters and nuns. Many parish priests do not belong to a religious order and are called secular clergy.

4

The white Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk (Dutch Reformed Church) has 3 daughter Churches, namely: the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Sendingskerk (Dutch Reformed Mission Church) for 'Coloureds'; the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk in Afrika (Dutch Reformed Church in Africa) for Blacks; and the Gereformeerde Kerk in Afrika (the Reformed Church in Africa) for Indians.

5

Father Joseph Gerard O.M.I. was beatified at a ceremony in Maseru, Lesotho by Pope John Paul II during his Southern African visit in September 1988. Beatification is the final phase in the process toward canonization and permits veneration of the person in those places where the beatified lived and worked. Father Gerard is the only missionary who has been beatified or canonized for work in Southern Africa. (Southern Cross, 21 August 1988; South 15th September 1988; Sowetan, 12th September 1988).

6

There are a number of accounts of this missionary process. These works include:

The Catholic Church and the Kaffir - Dr J.D. Ricards, Burns and Oates, London, 1879.

The Cape Diary of Bishop Griffith O.P. (1837-1839) - Brain, J (ed) S.A.C.B.C. 1988.

Princes of his People : The Story of our Bishops 1800-1951 - Brady, J.E. Mazanod Institute; Maseru, 1952 .

Trekking for Souls - Brady, J.E. Cedara, Natal, 1952.

The Catholic Church in South Africa - W.E. Brown, Burns and Oates, London, 1960.

Catholic Beginnings in Natal and Beyond - Brain, J.B., T.W. Giggs and Co., Durban, 1975.

Wordless Witness: A history of the Holy Cross Sisters in Southern Africa, Mc Donagh L.M. Marian Hill Press, 1983.

Notre Dame - Under the Southern Cross - Kay, P. Raven Press, JHB, 1984 .

CHAPTER 2

A Historical and Ecclesiological Overview of the Roman Catholic Church.

"Waste and void. Waste and void: And darkness on the face of the deep.
Has the Church failed mankind, or has mankind failed the Church?
When the Church is no longer regarded, not even opposed, and men have
forgotten All gods except Usury, Lust and Power".

T.S. Eliot (Choruses from the Rock)

"The past will never return. New situations require new dispositions".

Angelo Guiseppe Roncalli (later Pope John XXIII) 2 December 1933.

I. INTRODUCTION.

The Roman Catholic Church is an immense, complex, international and culturally polycentric institution, which is steeped in and defined by tradition. An understanding of the contemporary Church's practices, laws, structures, theology, pastoral ministry and teachings should be prefaced by their background of tradition. The aim of this chapter is to set out the principal tenets of the Church, the historical development and hierarchical nature thereof and the distribution of roles and power in the institutional life of the Church. This will suggest that the faith and practice of the Church have not always been and are not always now consistent, coherent or unambiguous. There have been and continue to be tensions and divisions. These have been reflected in ecclesiastical structures and traditions as well as in the theology and teaching of the Church at different times. Conversely the Church has been influenced by the society of which it is part. The relationship of the Christian Church to this society has been a matter of central and abiding concern. The Church has been compelled to address the relationship of the Christian community and that of the individual Christian to the social and political milieu of the time. The response of the Church at any historical conjuncture has been shaped by a reading of "the signs of the times".(1)

II. ECCLESIAL TRADITION AND THE MAGISTERIUM

The magisterium or teaching authority of the Catholic Church has rested, since the early days of the Church, on both scripture and tradition. Together they comprise the 'deposit of faith' or the doctrine of the Church.

It is believed that nothing new may be added to the truths as taught by Jesus Christ, who is both the founder and head of the Church (Smith, 1952 : 725ff). It is the office and task of the Church, in fulfilling Christ's function as teacher, not to make new revelations, but to guard from error the 'deposit of

faith', while, at the same time, authentically and authoritatively proclaiming and interpreting the gospel of Jesus Christ to posterity, and thus ensuring the catholicity of His Church.(2)

Traditionally the Catholic Church has been understood as possessing a universality by which it appears as a constituted society in every part of the world. It is universal in terms of place, membership, time and doctrine. The Church is one and undivided. This belief in unity is perhaps best and most concisely expressed in the following words of the Nicene Creed; "believe in one, Holy, Catholic, and Apostolic Church".(3)

Various ecclesial structures and procedures have historically developed to articulate the teaching of the Church regarding matters of faith and morals, that is, the tradition of Christian belief and the manner of Christian living. The Church is endowed with the charism of infallibility, the effect of which is to exclude the possibility of error from its teachings concerning faith and morals.

The Council of Nicea saw the first universally binding dogmatic decrees of the Holy Catholic Church. Nicea was to be the first of a long series of councils where orthodox Christian faith was debated, clarified, codified and explained. Prior to the introduction of ecumenical councils the responsibility for the 'discernment' of doctrines and practices was left to a dialogue of the faithful, their **pastors** and their bishops. There was no formalized procedure. The advent of the ecumenical councils saw the development of the concept of orthodoxy which was predicated on the authority of the hierarchy rather than on consensus (Mourigt in Concilium, 1987 : 66-69).

The precedent set at Nicea was that the role of ecumenical councils be the formulation and definition of theological conclusions in keeping with the teachings of scripture by a visible body endowed with the authority of Christ

and that of His Church. The supreme and full authority of the college of bishops, in communion with the pope, is exercised formally over the whole Church by an ecumenical council.(4)

The decrees of an ecumenical council are, when sanctioned by the pope, an infallible witness to the Catholic rule of faith and as such are binding in conscience on all Catholics. Thus the teaching of the Church is formally and authoritatively declared through councils and infallible definitions. Both the tradition of the Church and the 'revealed truth' of scripture inform this teaching (Sullivan, 1985).(5)

These interpretations or dogmas safeguard the fundamental Christian teachings and the unity of those who believe. They constitute divine revelation and are promulgated for acceptance by all Catholics. Thus the tradition of the Church is unfolded (Bullough, 1965: 31-58).(6)

The proclamation of the Christian 'Kerygma', the presentation of the Christian message, is the task and responsibility of the Church. There can be no question of divided or conflicting teachings, and all teachings must be protected from error and be articulated with clarity and certainty. The councils are understood to be guided by the Holy Spirit, who is the Spirit of Truth. This is the magisterium of the Church, that is, the teaching authority of the Church, and was conferred on the Apostles by Christ Himself. It is continued in the body of the bishops. The particular authority conferred on Peter as head of the Apostles is continued in his successor, who is the pope. "This means that when the body of the bishops, formally united, gives utterance to an interpretation or development of revealed truth, or when in particular circumstances the pope, who is their head, gives similar utterance, such utterance is given with Christ's authority, and as such cannot possibly be erroneous" (Bullough, 1965 : 165). This charism of infallibility

concerning the 'deposit of faith', can be, and is, exercised only with regard to matters of faith and morals. The collegiality and unity of the episcopate is the guarantee of the juridical unity of the Church. The body of the faithful "from the Bishops to the last of the faithful" cannot err in matters of belief. Guided by the magisterium, the faithful manifest a universal consent in matters of faith and morals, which, in the final instance, rests on the 'sensus fidei' which is the instinctive sense of 'right doctrine' which the members of the Church possess in matters of faith. 'Lumen Gentium' states "Bishops who teach in communion with the Roman Pontiff are to be revered by all as witnesses of divine and Catholic truth, the faithful, for their part, are obliged to submit to their bishops' decision, made in the name of Christ, in matters of faith and morals, and to adhere to it with a ready and respectful allegiance of mind" ('Lumen Gentium' in Flannery, 1980 : 379-380).(7)

Church government is transmitted to Catholics everywhere through the diocesan bishops. Each bishop has jurisdictional powers which are derived from the fact of his becoming a member of the episcopate. The documents of Vatican II particularly 'Lumen Gentium', the Dogmatic Constitution on the Church, and 'Dei Verbum', the Dogmatic Constitution on Divine Revelation, affirm this tradition. 'Lumen Gentium' declares that bishops are to be respected as witnesses to divine and Catholic truth. In matters of faith and morals, the bishops speak in the name of Christ and the faithful are to accept their teaching and adhere to it with a "religious assent of soul". While 'Dei Verbum' asserts that "the authority of the magisterium is exercised in the name of Christ", 'Lumen Gentium' continues that "this sacred Synod teaches that by divine institution bishops have succeeded to the place of the Apostles as shepherds of the Church and that he who hears them, hears Christ, while he who rejects them, rejects Christ and Him who sent Christ ... Although the individual bishops do not enjoy the prerogative of infallibility, they can

nevertheless proclaim Christ's doctrine infallibly. This is so, even when they are dispersed around the world, provided that while maintaining the bond of unity among themselves and with Peter's successor, and while teaching authentically on a matter of faith or morals, they concur in a single viewpoint as the one which must be held conclusively" ('Lumen Gentium', in Flannery, 1980).

The authority vested in the episcopate is a visible sign of the unity and catholicity of the Church. The pope has jurisdiction over the universal Church and the local bishops, including the pope as Bishop of Rome, have the same authority locally. The pope is regarded as infallible only when he speaks with official authority to the whole Church, on matters of faith and morals. He derives the charism of infallibility from his office as the successor of Peter and as the visible head of the Apostolic body. When the Pope defines infallibly he does so as the voice of an infallible Church.(8,9)

There is a distinction between the 'ordinary' and the 'extraordinary' magisterium or teaching authority of the Catholic Church. The ordinary magisterium refers to the teachings of an ecumenical or general council which seek to define and assert the Catholic position on questions of faith and morals and this is infallible. The extraordinary magisterium always refers to an 'ex cathedra' statement by a Roman Pontiff on these issues. It is a tenet of Catholic faith that the extraordinary magisterium is infallible. However, Church teachings other than those of a general council, can be fallible. Although they are deserving of respect and should be heeded, they are also subject to error and this possibility should not be discounted (Segunda, 1985 : 4-5).(10) Matters belonging to the ordinary magisterium of the Church are subject to much debate and many differences in interpretation and emphasis. This is apparent from the diverse responses to the social teaching of the Church both historically and contemporarily.

The constitution of the Roman Catholic Church is not democratic but hierarchic. The hierarchical authority structures and operating procedures are a constitutive element of the identity of the Catholic Church. The Church is defined by the hierarchical nature of her authority structures. The very catholicity of the Church is predicated on these structures and on the unity which they represent.

Since the first Pentecost the preaching of the gospel has been an ever urgent imperative. The Patristic Fathers, who were assiduous preachers and teachers, embarked on the exposition of Christian doctrine. Their proclamation of the gospel and the concomitant exposition of doctrine form the basis of a faith rooted in the scriptures and in historical tradition.

Historically the magisterium of the Catholic Church, the 'ecclesia docens', has attempted to provide guidelines for the discernment of appropriate action by the faithful, the 'ecclesia discens', to inform Catholic conscience and so ensure the authenticity of Christian commitment and the continuity of tradition.

The social teachings of the Church can be divided usefully into three broad patterns namely, separatism, domination and integration (Forell, 1971). The separatist pattern characterized the early Church. Christian teaching emphasised the rejection of the 'ways of the world' and encouraged distance from the world. The era of Christendom, as the term suggests, was marked by the social dominance of the Church. The demise of Christendom and the increasing encroachment of secularism was regarded with suspicion by the Church. An isolationist position coupled with the tendency to align with conservative political forces prevailed as the Church struggled to maintain dominance. However, more recent times have seen the emergence of a third pattern of Church relationship to the world - that of integration. The attitude of dialogue with the world is a sign of the recognition by the Church that in the present 'times' she can seek neither to

dominate the world nor to dissociate herself from it. The absolutism of Christendom is past and engagement with the post-christian secular world is necessary for the continued survival of the Church. The Church has had to adapt to the modern world. These patterns or trends broadly correspond to different historical periods which should be contextually understood.

Little is known of the early years of Judeo-Christianity. Few records remain of the progress, extension, dynamism, difficulties, divisions, persecutions, heresies, teachings and ecclesiology of this era. The ethical teachings of the patristic period are coloured by the fact that they were written by Christian gentiles living in the pagan society of the Hellenist Roman Empire (for example, the writings of Irenaeus, Tertullian, Ignatius of Antioch, Barnabas, Justin ...). The distinction between the Church and the state during this period was rigidly clear.

The Edict of Milan promulgated in 313 A.D. and also known as the 'Edict of Toleration' guaranteed freedom of worship throughout the Roman Empire. Then Julian the Apostate granted toleration to all Christian and pagan creeds in 361 A.D., thus reiterating the standpoint of the Edict of Milan. In 380 A.D. the Emperor Theodosius declared Christianity the official religion of the Roman Empire. These events wrought a gradual but dramatic change in the position of the Christian Church in the society of Rome and in the world dominated by the Empire of Rome. Social relations between Church and state and the Church and the community were irrevocably altered and the consequences for organized Christianity were immense and epochal. The social relations of domination were to be redefined and there came to exist in the Roman Empire a close interconnection between secular and religious affairs whereby the unity and identity of the Church at the time became virtually coterminous with that of the Empire.

The rapid growth of the Church necessitated the formulation of structures and operating procedures to ensure the orthodoxy and unity of the Church. The first official definition of theological orthodoxy was made at the Council of Nicea in 325 A.D. In 381 A.D. Theodosius proclaimed the orthodoxy of the Nicene faith alone and forbade heretics of any persuasion to gather (Bainton, 1960 : 59-71; Broderick, 1976 :183; Frend, 1973 : 187-189).(11)

This period saw the growing institutionalization of the Church in terms of its theology, structures and pastoral practice. The authority and juridical procedures became more rigidly defined. In many ways the social organization of the Church reflected that of Imperial Rome. This nascent religious hegemony of the Catholic Church marked the beginning of the temporal power of the Church, which, through the ensuing centuries, evolved into the theocracy of the High Middle Ages and the undisputed superiority of church over state.

Division and heresy had marked the Church from the beginning, but the new status of the Church within the Empire introduced a new dimension of ecclesiastical strife, namely the relationship of the Church to the state. The close association of the Church with the temporal authority of the Empire and the growth in the temporal power of the Church herself produced new and lasting problems which have dominated religious discourse ever since. The age of martyrs had ended and the era of Christian soldiers had begun. There was a fundamental transition in the Church's view of the state and of political power. This hiatus was accompanied by a corresponding shift in the consciousness of Christians (Villa-Vicencio, 1986 : 3-7).

The growing alliance between the Christian Church and the state did not go unheeded and unchallenged, for example, St John Chrysostom, writing soon after the Church had become the ruling religion of the Roman Empire, asserted the independence of the Church from the emperor and the state.

This period also saw the development of monasticism, which in its spirit and practice protested the growth of the temporal power of the Church. Monasticism did not separate itself from the Church, but bore witness to the rejection of many values and practices of the prevailing culture within the Church. Monasticism was characterized by asceticism, self denial and contemplation. This lifestyle was followed by those who wished to live apart from the world, yet in community, in accord with a particular religious rule, under vows of poverty, chastity and obedience (Broderick, 1976 : 396).(12) St Augustine of Hippo (354-430) who ranks among the founders of the canonical lifestyle, as the early religious communities which formed the basis for monasticism were termed, taught that all human conduct must be informed by the love of God. In 'Of the Morals of the Catholic Church' he wrote that "Virtue is the perfect love of God: all other virtues are dependent and derivative. The proper love of self and of the neighbour is derived from it ...justice is love serving God only, and therefore ruling well all else, as subject to man"(Forell, 1971 : 76).

Monasticism also gave rise to the development of the great Mendicant Orders of the Middle Ages, those religious orders combining monastic life and outside religious ministry and owning neither personal nor community property. The mendicant communities renounced worldly wealth. Beggary was their primary means of support. This manner of seeking Christian perfection was a response to wealth and temporal power, and the conflicts and corruptions which threatened to divide the Church. They were also a judgement, a protest and a witness.(13)

Later medieval theologians moved away from monastic precepts and were to use the theology of St Augustine as a basis for interpreting life as constituting two clearly distinguishable yet related spheres of existence - the temporal sphere and the spiritual sphere. However, the contribution of the medieval Christian mystics, such as Meister Eckhart and Bernard of Clairvaux, emphasised the interrelation between faith and works, contemplation and action, prayer and

work. Being precedes doing; "People ought not to consider so much what they are to do as what they are; let them be good and their ways and deeds will shine brightly. If you are just, your actions will be just too" (Meister Eckhart - 'The Talks of Instruction' in Forell 1971 : 104-105).

Augustine had accepted the cultural and political ethos of the Empire as the identity of the Catholic Church. In religious terms the dualism of the spiritual and the temporal, the Church and the state, heaven and earth, allowed him to exempt the state from the demands of the gospel, concentrating in hopeful expectation, on the 'heavenly city' which was yet to come. It is this dualist preoccupation which results in the ambiguity characterizing Augustine's ethical teachings and which accords legitimacy to the state in its own right.

This attitude towards the state was exemplified by the assumption of the 'divine right of kings' which defined the rigidly stratified social, political and economic organisation of the feudal era. The supposed 'divinity' of the state, represented by the king, was seen as a corollary to the divinity of the Church.

This was the 'Age of Christendom' and there "existed a relationship between faith and social community and between Christianity and society, in which the former made up the basis and inspiration of the latter, which had the duty (and the power) to safeguard the faith" (Alberigo in Concilium, 1987 : 86-87). It would be mistaken to assume, however, that the quasi identification of the Church with the state and the social organization of the time was entirely coherent or without difficulties and conflicts. Furthermore, there were rules and guidelines laid down by the Church to regulate this relationship. All the decisions, actions and laws made by the state were not simply condoned by the Church nor did the Church collude with all state practices. (14)

The most influential theologian of this period was the Dominican, Thomas

Aquinas (1225-1274).(15) Aquinas's theological thought on political theory has made a formative contribution to Christian thinking on Church - state relations (Villa-Vicencio, 1986 : 23). Aquinas saw his task as the application of the philosophical principles of Aristotle to the empirical concerns of his time in order to discern guidelines and principles for ethical behavior. The pursuit of truth is through the use of reason. God, who is truth, is the end of man. Thus the purpose of life is the return of sinners to God. This return is attained through knowing Him, loving Him and serving Him, by faith and good works and by striving to do the will of God. Human acts of free will either correspond to or contradict the will of God. Natural law arises from God. Natural moral law is within man in that it is in the purposeful nature of man and can thus be realized by his actions in the world and so through grace man attains his true being in God who is everything. Man, through reason, can come to know the will of God and it is the role of the Church to provide authoritative guidelines to assist in this process. Theologically, natural law is concerned with morality and ethical conduct, with rights and their corresponding obligations in both personal and societal terms. These rights are inalienable. It is through the proper application of these rights and obligations that man comes to know God and, through grace, attains salvation. Faith is an essential element. Faith and good works, governed by the exercise of moral conscience, are both necessary to the realization of salvation.

The state is perceived as part of the natural order of things instituted by God and is thus legitimate. However, it is never an end in itself. Certain codes of conduct govern human interaction. These are derived from natural law and reflect the will of God. Man as a social and political animal is subject to divine law, reason and political authority. Peace and order rest on the harmony and consonance of these different dimensions of natural law as manifest within the social discourse. The ultimate criterion for the assessment of the justice

of any situation is the common good. Submission to political authority is regarded as being in accordance with natural law (Villa-Vicencio, 1986 : 24). Human authority and political control may never result in the loss of personal identity and the individual's right to obey the dictates of his own conscience. The state is never an absolute authority. In its broad application, Aquinas's political theory is an affirmation of Medieval theocracy. Civil authority is part of a hierarchical society which is in turn subject to divine law. The purpose of human society is to serve God. The exercise of civil authority is the application of the will of God in the temporal sphere. Theoretically kings and rulers are entrusted with the government of peoples in terms of God's law, which is the highest and eternal authority. In terms of these underlying assumptions the preservation and perpetuation of the existing order is a noble and important task.

The work of Aquinas may represent a model of and a legitimation for feudal society, but he was not unaware of the fact of evil in the temporal world. Evil being that which is against the will of God, contrary to the natural order and detrimental to the common good. Aquinas did broach these issues and consider the course of action justified in such instances. He taught that it was not sedition to oppose and overthrow a tyrannical government, but he did caution that any action taken should not cause the people to "suffer more from it than from the tyrannical regime".(16)

It was during this period that the Doctrine of the Just War was developed. This doctrine, central to medieval theology, was originally formulated by Augustine and further codified by Thomas Aquinas. In essence, these teachings lay down the criteria for evaluating the justice of armed violence and warfare. Implicit therein are the related questions of the legitimacy of government and the prerequisites for a just peace. This doctrine has pervaded the ethical and social teaching of the Church ever since and is still regarded as immediately

relevant (Villa-Vicencio, 1986 : 26; Nolan and Armour in Villa-Vicencio, 1987 : 209-214).(17)

The teachings of Aquinas exerted considerable influence. Theological discourse became increasingly distanced from biblical scholarship and Christology. The Church became more and more preoccupied with the formulation of doctrine. The juridical - institutional aspects of the Church were emphasized (Alberigo in Concilium, 1987 : 86-87). Nevertheless, Aquinas can be regarded as giving some substance to the values of justice, liberty and peace.

The institutional ordering of the Church and the hegemony of the pope seemed unassailably entrenched. The monolith that was the Catholic Church was now at the zenith of its power, wealth and magnificence. Nevertheless, the might of Christendom was on the wane. Feudalism was fraught with crises which undermined its very structure. The world was changing. The Church and the exercise of its authority were no longer implicit in the structure and governing procedures of the society, rather they were increasingly but one aspect of the society. The hegemony of the Church of Rome was seriously undermined. The most significant challenge to the power and identity of the Church expressed itself in religious terms. This challenge, the Reformation and the schisms which resulted, have undermined the unity of the Christian Church ever since. The Reformation was an indictment of the Church of the time. It renounced corrupt practices, excessive wealth, alliances with unjust secular authorities and uncritical loyalty.

The severity and implications of this repudiation stunned the Church. It was a period of schism and formalized division within the Christian Church. The Protestants had voluntarily separated themselves from the Roman Church and disregarded the authority of the Church and of the pope. Christians were no longer in a state of ecclesiastical communion and the catholicity of the

Church was seriously flawed. The legitimacy of the prevalent religious ideology had been challenged and renounced. There were now other Christian groupings in opposition to the Church of Rome.

The Roman Church responded to this devastating critique and militant action defensively. Her very existence was under siege. It was no solution merely to condemn the reform movement as anathema. The issues and problems it presented had to be addressed. The Council of Trent (1545-1563) was convoked to this end. This was the ecumenical council of the Catholic counter-reformation. A number of reforms in terms of the theology structure and practice of the Church were instituted. A new puritanism pervaded these 'Tridentine Reforms', which reflected a desire not to give the Protestants grounds for complaint. The Roman Church built dogmatic walls against the threat of Protestantism (Hebblethwaite, 1987 : 6).(18)

It was with a spirit of innate conservatism, suspicion and intransigence that the Catholic Church confronted the turbulent years which saw the age of the Enlightenment, the growth of liberalism and capitalism, the development of nationalist movements and the encroachment of secularism (Hobsbawn, 1962 : 258-276).

The following centuries saw a period marked by accelerated revolutionary change and political crises. These events challenged the temporal and political role of the Church, further undermined the authority of the Holy See and the religious hegemony of the Catholic Church. The Roman Church, so much and for so long associated with the 'ancien regime', regarded its temporal power as vitally necessary to the proper functioning of the papacy and the magisterium as a spiritual authority (Vidler, 1965). The response of the Church to these perceived threats and supposed apostatization of society was a resistance to change and the militant exercise of her remaining authority.

The Church became a bastion of religious, political and moral conservatism. The Church and the state were now separate, and the response of the Catholic Church was to adopt a separatist attitude towards the secular world. It seemed that there could be no reconciliation between the Church and the modern world. All that remained of Christendom built an ideological wall around itself and adopted an isolationist approach to the secular world. The period was characterized by ultramontaniam, that is the emphasis on the absolute supremacy of papal authority, and the promotion of the cult of the pope, which remains a feature of contemporary Roman Catholicism.

The most unequivocal example of the attitude of the Roman Church to the modern world was the Syllabus of Errors, 'Quanta Cura', published by Pius IX in 1846. This was a specific statement of the position of the Church on some eighty tendencies of the modern era which the Church authorities considered erroneous. It was an unqualified condemnation of nationalism, indifferentism, socialism, communism, naturalism, freemasonry, the separation of the Church and the state, press freedom, religious toleration, liberalism and modernism (Vidler, 1965 : 151).

Ultramontaniam and the increasing centralization of ecclesial authority was particularly evidenced by the definition of papal infallibility at the first Vatican Council in July 1870. In September of the same year the papal states were invaded and confiscated by Italian nationalist forces. The establishment of the Kingdom of Italy marked a decisive end to the temporal power of the Catholic Church. Vatican I was adjourned prematurely and its business was never concluded. The next ecumenical council was not to be for nearly a century, when Vatican II would herald the 'aggiornamento' of the citadel that was the Roman Catholic Church in keeping with the 'signs of the times' and, the realities of the modern world.

The theologian Engelbert Gutwenger asserts that 'as is well known, ecclesiastical authority in every era has acted in a spirit similar to that shown by the secular authorities at the time' (Gutwenger in Concilium 1970 vol 1 no 6:72). However, while the position of the Church regarding social justice at any given period has tended to reflect the prevalent societal relations of domination, it would be simplistic and mistaken to assume an abiding congruence in the theology, structures and practice of the Church.

Throughout the history of the Roman Catholic Church there have been prophets, martyrs and saints, periods of crisis and reform, political alliances and monasticism, 'bad popes' and wise teachers, violence and charity, persecution and evangelism, heresy and orthodoxy, bigotry and scholarship, uncritical loyalty and innovation, fanaticism and piety, wealth and poverty, war and peace, power and service - cause for despair and hope. As Yinger suggests an almost miscellaneous listing of situations in which Catholicism has influenced politics reveals the Church as a source of internal unity; as a symbol of internal struggle; as a focus of opposition in nation building and as an instrument of supranational cohesion (Yinger, 1970 : 417; Houtart and Rousseau, 1970).

While for the most part the Church has played a conservative role in society and contributed to the hegemony of the dominant social grouping, there have been episodes, teachings and practices which have challenged this hegemony. The role of the Church in social reproduction is not fixed. Contradictory elements are present. It would seem that the Church has the potential to both uphold and undermine the hegemony of the dominant group. This has been a consistent source of tension within the Church. Also the struggle for hegemony which characterizes civil society as a whole is played out within the Church. These struggles for hegemony take place against the background of the particular characteristics of the Catholic Church which have been outlined in this chapter - importantly the

concepts of unity and catholicity, internationalism and universalism, the hierarchical authority structures and decision making procedures, the teachings and traditions. The struggles for hegemony in society and in the Church are not unrelated, but articulate with each other resulting in a particular social and political discourse, one example of which will be considered in this dissertation.

1

This descriptive expression "the signs of the times" has become popular during the years since Vatican II. It was first used in the Constitution 'Humanae Salutis' of 25 December 1961. Pope John XXIII used this occasion to announce the approaching council to the world (Hebblethwaite, 1987 : 192 and 34).

2

The term 'Catholic Church' seems to have first appeared in St Ignatius of Antioch's Epistle to the Smyrnaens (c) 117 AD; "wheresoever Christ Jesus is, there is the Catholic Church". The word 'Catholic' is Greek and means 'universal' or, more literally, "according to the whole" (Smith, 1952 : 705).

3

A creed, in Catholic tradition, is a formal confession of faith in opposition to the various heresies with which the Church has been obliged to contend at different times. The Nicene Creed is the most enduring and relevant of these creeds. It is still recited at each Sunday mass and on major feast days. It is the formal and orderly presentation of the chief doctrines of the Catholic faith. It was formulated at the first ecumenical council of the Roman Church, which was convoked at Nicaea by Emperor Constantine in 325 AD. It was gradually introduced into the liturgy of the mass in some places. Then it was officially incorporated as part of the Roman rite of the mass by Pope Benedict VIII at the beginning of the eleventh century.

4

According to the Code of Canon Law it is the prerogative of the Pope to convoke, preside over and confirm ecumenical councils.

5

Sullivan continues that the handing down of the teaching of Christ and the doctrine of the apostles is on the one hand a part of tradition, and on the other the claim of the Bishops of the Church that they, in Christ's name and assisted by the Holy Spirit, demand faith. In understanding that the Church is a community of faith in its Founder (1 Tim. 3:15) and that it cannot fail (Matt. 16:18) one acknowledges that the entire episcopate teaches with infallible authority in testimony to Christ and that this testimony should be accepted with an absolute assent of faith (Sullivan, 1985).

6

The 'Canon of Vincent' of Lerins describes the essence of this progressive interpretation of revelation: 'ut id teneamus quod ubique, quod semper, quod ab omnibus creditum est', meaning that 'we hold what is believed everywhere, always and by everyone' (Bullough, 1965 : 58).

7

At the conclusion of the Third session of the Second Vatican Council on 21 November 1964, a decree was issued clarifying the concept of 'collegiality'. It means that the body of Bishops, as a 'college' deriving from the 'college' of the Apostles, shares jurisdiction over the Church collectively with the Pope as head of the 'college' of Bishops the Roman Pontiff, Peter's successor, and the Bishops, the successors of the Apostles, are related with and united to one another. Indeed, the very ancient discipline whereby the Bishops installed throughout the whole world lived in communion with one another and with the Roman Pontiff in a bond of unity, charity and peace, likewise the holding of councils in order to settle conjointly, in a decision rendered balanced and equitable by the advice of many, all questions of major importance; all this points clearly to the collegiate character and structure

of the episcopal order, and the holding of ecumenical councils in the course of the centuries bears this out unmistakably ... The order of Bishops is the successor to the college of the Apostles in their role as teachers and pastors, and in it the Apostolic college is perpetuated. Together with their head, the Supreme Pontiff, and never apart from him, they have supreme and full authority over the Universal Church; but this power cannot be exercised without the agreement of the Roman Pontiff" (Lumen Gentium, the Dogmatic Constitution on the Church, in Flannery, 1980 : 372-373).

8

The doctrine of papal infallibility was defined as recently as Vatican I and formally promulgated on 18 July 1870. An 'ex cathedra' definition is one in which the Roman Pontiff applies the full extent of his Apostolic authority to make a conclusive and irreversable decision on matters of faith or morals, which are to be regarded as binding by all the faithful as constituting part of the 'deposit of faith or dogma' (Smith, 1952 : 719).

9

It is important to note that heresy or false doctrine must always be clearly distinguished from legitimate differences of opinion.

10

Papal encyclicals belong to the ordinary magisterium of the Church - as do all statements and all pastoral letters issuing from the Congregation's Tribunals and the Institutes of the Roman Curia. In effect the parameters of infallibility are extremely narrow.

11

The council of Niceae had been summoned by the Emperor Constantine and the organisation, the meetings and even the doctrinal decisions had been in his hands (Freund, 1973 : 155). The Emperor Theodosius summoned the second ecumenical council at Constantinople in 381 AD which ratified the decisions of Niceae (Bainton, 1960 : 70; Freund, 1973 : 187).

12

The Council of Chalcedon in 451 AD placed the monasteries under the authority of the respective local Bishops. Monasteries were the educational centres of Christendom until the 13th century, when their role was assumed by the universities and cathedral schools.

13

The two great mendicant orders are the Order of Friars Minor, or the Franciscans, founded by St Francis of Assisi, and the Order of Preaching Friars, or the Dominicans, founded by St Dominic of Castile. These orders also encouraged the founding of the Carmelites and the Hermits of St Augustine, as well as various sister orders, for example the Poor Claires.

14

Church history of this period features many who by their words and lives protested the corruption of excessive wealth, temporal power and the exercise of secular authority in the Church. Examples are St John Chrysostom, St Bernadine of Sienna, St Antonius of Florence, St Thomas a Beckett, St Francis and St Claire, St Dominic, St Robert Bellarmine, St Catherine of Siena, Meister Eckhart and William of Occam

15

Pope Leo XIII in his encyclical 'Aetemi Patris' of 1879, declared Aquinas the

standard theologian of the Catholic Church.

16

Aquinas continues, "Indeed it is the tyrant rather than that is more guilty of sedition, since he fosters discord and dissension among his subjects in order to lord over them more securely. For this is tyranny, to govern for the rulers' personal advantage to the people's harm ... The obligation to obey civil authority is measured by what the order of justice requires. For this reason when any regime holds its power not by right but by usurpation, or commands what is wrong, subjects have no duty to obey, except for such extraneous reasons as avoidance of scandal or risk" (Thomas Aquinas - 'Summa Theologiae' in Villa-Vicencio, 1986 : 37-38).

17

The doctrine of the 'Just War', and its application through the tradition of the Church, informs much of the contemporary theological discussion concerning the 'just revolution', the legitimacy of guerilla struggle and the use of violence for the achievement of political ends.

18

It was during this period that the Congregation of the Holy Office (presently called the Sacred Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith) was established. Its task was the defence of Christian faith and morals from schism, apostasy and heresy, and any unorthodox theological opinions, teachings or writings which could endanger Catholic faith or morals (Broderick, 1976 : 268; Bullough, 1963 : 189).

CHAPTER 3

'OUR BEST KEPT SECRET'

- an outline of the Social Teaching of the Roman Catholic Church in the Twentieth Century.

"And the Church must be forever building and always decaying and always being restored

The Church must be forever building, for it is forever decaying within and attacked from without"

T.S. Eliot (Choruses from the Rock)

"We stress the fact that it is of greatest importance that our beloved sons and daughters not only know this Social Doctrine but that they be educated according to it"

'Mater et Magistra' - Pope John XXIII

INTRODUCTION

In 1988 the Justice and Peace Commission of the Johannesburg Diocese published a booklet entitled "Our Best Kept Secret" (Justice and Peace Commission, 1988). The booklet focuses on those Church documents which form the basis of Catholic social teaching and relates these teachings to the South African situation. The purpose of the publication is to render the social teaching of the Church more accessible to ordinary Catholics. As the somewhat ironic title of the publication suggests, this is a hitherto neglected area of Church tradition and teaching (Southern Cross, 30 October 1988). However, the social teachings of the Church are crucial to an understanding of the changing character and role of the Catholic Church in contemporary South Africa. Developments in the local Church cannot be separated from those concerning the whole Church.

The Church's social teaching reflects its understanding of the world and of the role of the Church in the world. The teachings contain ethical injunctions on matters of faith and morals and provide guidelines for social interaction and involvement. These documents also express a vision of and hope for the future. Also reflected therein is the slow movement away from the outright condemnations of the 'Syllabus of Errors' and the isolationism of the nineteenth century Catholic Church and the gradual process of accommodation to the secular realities of the twentieth century. This process found its fullest and most consequent expression in the 'aggiornamento' of the Second Vatican Council (1962-1965). The social teachings are a vital exposition of the identity of the Church as it attempts to address the problems and concerns of the 'modern' world (Dorr, 1983; Forell, 1971; Gremillion, 1976; O'Brien and Shannon, 1977).

Twentieth century Catholic social teaching attempts to transcend and reconcile the dualisms of the private and the public, the spiritual and the temporal, the

religious and the secular, the Church and the world, which had dominated Catholic teaching since the breakdown of Christendom at the Reformation. While retaining many of the elements of classical Church teachings and neo-scholastic theological method, the social documents of the twentieth century Catholic Church express a growing realization of the need for the Church to identify more strongly with the suffering poor, and are evidence of a changing attitude to social and economic issues (Gremillion, 1976; O'Brien and Shannon, 1977).

The most authoritative and influential 'Social Teachings' are the encyclicals and pastoral letters promulgated by the Popes, the Second Vatican Council and the Synod of Bishops. During the nineteenth century a number of papal statements dealing with various political problems were issued. However, it was not until the promulgation of the encyclical 'Rerum Novarum' on the 'Condition of the Working Classes' by Leo XIII in 1891 that a pope addressed 'the social question' on an international scale (Bullough, 1965 : 276). 'Rerum Novarum' is regarded as the first of the social encyclicals. Leo's successors published further such encyclicals at different intervals over the next one hundred years (Dorr, 1983; Gremillion, 1976; O'Brien and Shannon, 1977; Villa-Vicencio, 1986). (See list of Vatican Documents.)

The Church's social teaching must be seen against the background of the structural injustice, poverty and violence, which characterizes the modern world. These teachings constitute an acknowledgement by the Church of the stratified and unequal ordering of society, of the juxtaposition of enormous wealth and awful poverty. They state the position of the magisterium, which is the highest authority of the Church, on matters relating to social justice. This chapter outlines the content of these teachings and identifies central themes. These teachings have informed those of the South African Catholic hierarchy. They also constitute standards for the assessment of the pastoral practice of the Church in terms of its own understanding of its mission and

role. How do the teachings of the S.A.C.B.C. compare with the criteria and guidelines laid down by the universal Church? How closely does the South African Catholic Church reiterate and apply the teachings of the magisterium to local circumstances?

In his book 'Option for the Poor - A Hundred Years of Vatican Social Teaching', Donal Dorr usefully considers the social teaching of the Catholic Church in an attempt to determine the extent to which the Church has committed itself to taking the part of those who are poor and oppressed. Two questions pervade his analysis. Firstly, does the Church take an 'option for the poor' and secondly, are the pastoral activities of the Church an adequate embodiment of the Church's stated commitment to justice in society? (Dorr, 1983).

Gremillion argues that modern Catholic social teaching can be categorized into those documents which precede the Second Vatican Council (1962-1965) and those of the post conciliar Church, that is, the social documents of the 'aggiornamento' (Gremillion, 1976).

'RERUM NOVARUM' AND 'QUADRAGESIMO ANNO'

'Rerum Novarum' (On Condition of the Working Classes) encyclical letter of Leo XIII was published in 1891. It strongly protested the harsh conditions of industrial workers. This encyclical was to stand alone for several decades. Then in 1931, to commemorate the fortieth anniversary of 'Rerum Novarum', Pius XI published 'Quadragesimo Anno' (on Social Reconstruction), which developed the themes of 'Rerum Novarum' and looked forward to a new social order (Gremillion, 1976 : 139).

The nineteenth century Catholic Church had been dominated by the fear of 'modernism', the suspicion of secularism and alignment with conservative social forces. The infallibility of the pope had been defined by Vatican I, thus entrenching the authority of the papacy. The publication of 'Rerum

Novarum' marked a departure from a Church characterized by self absorption and religious legalism. It laid the groundwork for modern Catholic teaching on human rights.(1)

Leo's teachings restated the traditional principles which should govern the relations between 'Church' and 'State'. The distinction between Church and State was noted, though it was recognized that in practice the division between the respective areas of responsibility was neither clear nor absolute. The political responsibilities of the magisterium and the Catholic citizen were clarified. The state may not infringe upon the rights of the Church or encroach on the spheres of its authority. Likewise civil and socio-political issues are not ordinarily the subject of ecclesiastical interference. However, in so far as they fall under moral law and the judgement of human conscience, political and social issues are subject to the authority of the Church. The Church has both the right and the responsibility to pronounce upon the justice or otherwise of the issues involved (Smith, 1952 : 726-730).

The encyclical condemned the evils of modern, industrial society and the breakdown of traditional lifestyles and values. Human dignity is God given and thus inviolable, but "a small number of very rich men have been able to lay upon the teeming masses of the labouring poor a yoke little better than that of slavery itself" ('Rerum Novarum', 1883). The encyclical noted that there were three key factors in modern economic life, namely, the workers, productive property and the state. The concern of the Church was that there should be equity and justice between them. The role of the Church was to alleviate conflicts, effect reconciliation and urge the just exercise of mutual rights and duties. Both employers and workers have corresponding rights and duties. The strict adherence of both parties to their respective obligations ensures order and equity (Dorr, 1983; Schultheis and de Berri, 1984).

In both 'Rerum Novarum' and 'Quadragesimo Anno' there was an insistence on the justice and importance of the right to private property, which right should be defended by the state. The Church's championship of this right is the basis of Leo's and later popes' critique of socialism. Socialism was perceived as a definite violation of the right of all to the ownership of property.(2) However, private property must serve the common good.

The duties of employers were emphasized throughout 'Rerum Novarum'. This emphasis implies that the order and equity of the society are dependent, in no small measure, on the goodwill and 'christian conscience' of the employers. 'Rerum Novarum' perceived no inherent contradiction between the interests of capital and those of labour. Class conflict was condemned. The dutiful adherence by both workers and employers to their respective rights and duties would ensure harmony.

Particular attention was accorded also to the rights of the family, the unemployed and the poor. Freedom of worship and association were affirmed. The role of the state was the promotion of the 'common good'.(3) 'Rerum Novarum' was written against the backdrop of the rise of modern industrial capitalism, militant European Nationalist struggles, nascent socialist worker organizations, the confiscation of the papal states and progressive secularization. These realities challenged and undermined the traditional role and position of the Church in society.

'Rerum Novarum' condemned both 'laissez faire' capitalism and socialism, while assigning a pivotal role to the Church in addressing social evils. Nevertheless, it was a clear denunciation of the circumstances of the poor. Dorr suggests that while the encyclical reiterated traditional christian teaching it also laid the groundwork for the modern Catholic theory of human rights (Dorr, 1983).

However, in 'Rerum Novarum' the changes in society which would make for social justice depend, in the main, on a change of heart by those who hold and wield economic and political power. The encyclical condemned the excesses of industrial capitalism, while at the same time relying on that same system for deliverance. It is essentially a call for reform and the maintenance of order. This ambiguity was to characterize Catholic social teaching for many decades (Dorr, 1983; Gremillion, 1976).

'Quadragesimo Anno' was promulgated by Pius XI to commemorate the fortieth anniversary of the publication of 'Rerum Novarum' in 1931. The forty years which separated the encyclicals had seen the advent of the twentieth century, the First World War, the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia, the growth of the trade union movement and socialist political organizations, the women's suffrage movement, the Great Depression and the beginnings of fascism in many countries. The Lateran Treaty had been signed between the Vatican and the Italian Government.(4) 'Quadragesimo Anno' took stock of these developments and attempted to further clarify and develop the Church's social teaching.

This encyclical emphasized that it was incorrect to maintain that social and political problems were not the concern of the Church. The Church had both the right and the duty to address and pronounce on these matters in as much as they affected the faith and morals of the faithful. It was pointed out that in many instances the injunctions of 'Rerum Novarum' had not been taken seriously enough. The purpose of 'Quadragesimo Anno' was to vindicate and develop the teaching of 'Rerum Novarum'. Pius reiterated the reciprocal rights and obligations spelt out by Leo. There was insistence on the need for a just wage. The issue of private property occupied a central position once more. Capital and labour should be seen as mutually dependent.

It was noted that the Church had become involved increasingly in lay social

movements. This had enriched the pastoral experience of the Church.(5) However, the encyclical also noted that the formation of associations of employers had been particularly unsuccessful.(6) Outrage was expressed at the continuing suffering of the poor, particularly the unemployed, agricultural wage earners and the increasing number of very poor industrial workers in the Americas and the Far East. This misery was juxtaposed with the concentration of wealth in the hands of the few. The encyclical called for a new social order, for reform and the exercise of greater moral responsibility by the Church, the state, capital and labour.

In spite of his condemnation of the brutal individualism of 'laissez faire' capitalism, Pius concurred with Leo that socialism was not the remedy for the 'social problem'. He regarded socialism as implicitly dangerous and out of step with traditional Church teaching. The notion of class conflict was seen as contrary to the shared brotherhood of all persons as children of God. Socialism was associated with atheistic materialism. However, a distinction could be made between socialism and communism. The former was the more moderate, - condemning the use of violence and adopting a moderate position on the prohibition on private property. The latter demanded the complete abolition of private property, advocated class warfare and condoned the use of violence.

Communism was regarded as the avowed enemy of the Church. The Church condemned communism in the most unequivocal terms, but adopted a more tolerant attitude toward socialism. 'Quadragesimo Anno' suggested that "gradually the tenets of mitigated socialism will no longer be different from the programme of those who seek to reform society according to Christian principles". In 1937 Pius XI denounced 'the dreadful plague of communism' in the encyclical 'Divini Redemptoris'. This encyclical is the best example of the rampant anti-communism which characterized the Church during these years. Communism was

attacked particularly for its 'false messianic' ideas and its aggressive atheism (Forell, 1971 : 353-354). In conclusion, 'Divini Redemptoris' stated that true social reform could be achieved only by a return to the Christian spirit of charity and fraternal love.

Both 'Rerum Novarum' and 'Quadragesimo Anno' contained scathing denunciations of liberal capitalism and atheistic communism. These pioneering documents of modern Catholic social teaching held that the problems of the modern world could be overcome through the reconciliation of society with the Church. The Church possessed all the answers to the problems and dilemmas of the contemporary world - not only to those of faith. Such a perspective sought to recover the social order of the feudal era where the Church had played a vital mediating role in the social discourse. Such an ecclesiology was overwhelmingly triumphalist and conservative. The Church lamented the past, was suspicious of the present and fearful of the future. The pastoral approach of the Church seemed to offer only a return to a former age which had been neither secure nor happy for most people (O'Brien and Shannon, 1977). The social analysis of the Church at this time was informed by the feudal world view of the hierarchical ordering of society and the absolute authority of the Church over things spiritual and temporal. Such an outlook was analogous with various secular views of the time, for example, romanticism, organicism and benevolent philanthropy. The tone was romantically apocalyptic.

While these documents are essentially reformist, projecting the Church as a 'third way' between the excesses of 'laissez faire' capitalism and the dangers of socialist collectivism, their significance should not be underestimated. They are filled with compassion for those who suffer and moral outrage at the violations of human rights. The Church emerges as a severe critic of unrestrained capitalism (Dorr, 1983; O'Brien and Shannon, 1977). These documents marked the beginning of the gradual acknowledgement by the Church

that the world was changing. The complacency which had characterized the Church since Vatican I was no longer appropriate. The process of adjustment to and accommodation of the realities of the modern world was to be slow. Another thirty years were to pass before the promulgation of the next social encyclical (Dorr, 1983; Villa-Vicencio, 1986).

The years which followed 'Quadragesimo Anno' were difficult ones for the Church. The fear of communism pervaded much of its thinking. The Church's attitude to the rapid growth of fascism in Europe was initially ambivalent. Communism had been identified as the enemy and the advance of atheism was perceived as the greatest threat to the Church. Therefore, a tolerant and cautious attitude toward fascist governments seemed prudent. In 1933 the Vatican negotiated a concordat with Hitler. It was the first 'foreign' power to do so. In the main the concordat was ignored by the Nazi officials (Broderick, 1975; Forell, 1971).

The encyclical 'Mit brennender Sorge', a response to the growth and power of 'National Socialism' in Germany, was issued in March 1937. The racist tendencies of Nazism were attacked. It was pointed out that although the Nazis were making much of their fight against communism, the methods adopted were to be condemned as 'false' and 'evil'. 'Divini Redemptoris' was posited as an alternative approach to the problems posed by communism.

In October 1939, soon after the commencement of World War II, Pius XII issued the encyclical 'Summi Pontificatus' which dealt with the functions of the state in the modern world. The encyclical asserted that there were supreme moral laws which protect the interests and unity of all. The observance of these laws would ensure peace between nations and promote the common good. The state was in no way exempt from the moral dictates of these laws. The encyclical spoke of the 'anguish' of the present hour, of the concern of the

Church for all the afflicted, the oppressed and the persecuted and called on the faithful to be mindful of all victims of the war who have a right to compassion and help. After World War II, the Catholic Church was one of the few trans-national institutions left intact. The Church offered encouragement to developing democratic political structures and movements of social reform. At the same time, during these years of the 'Cold War', the Church gave strong religious and ideological support to governments which opposed communism and socialism.

Catholic anti-communism now corresponded with the stance of most western governments. The ideological position of the Church was popular and the Church came to enjoy a new prestige among the nations of the 'Free World'. The Church also gave tacit support to the capitalist economic model. It was felt that the worst excesses of capitalism had been curbed. Further reforms should be encouraged, but capitalism seemed to be the best economic system available. It was seen as effective in dealing with problems of poverty and ensuring the safeguarding of human rights (Dorr, 1983; Houtart and Rousseau, 1970; O'Brien and Shannon, 1977).

As the 1950's and the pontificate of Pius XII came to a close, the social teaching of the Catholic Church was dominated by the fear of communism and suspicion of any form of radicalism. It was intensely Eurocentric in outlook. The Church seemed unaware of the problems and difficulties of the third world and ignorant of the experience of the Church in other parts of the world. The teachings of 'Rerum Novarum' and 'Quadragesimo Anno' had not been developed, rather they had simply been reiterated from time to time. The Church was characterized by complacency, social conservatism and theological traditionalism.

'MATER ET MAGISTRA' - A TURNING POINT

Pope John XXIII's encyclical 'Mater et Magistra' on 'Christianity and Social

Progress' was issued to mark the seventieth anniversary of 'Rerum Novarum' in May 1961. There had not been a papal encyclical explicitly on social teaching for thirty years. It has been argued that 'Mater et Magistra' stands as a turning point in Catholic social thought. It is regarded as marking the beginning of the end of the political alliance between the Catholic Church and socially conservative forces and the beginning of a process whereby the Church came to have new allies and new opponents (Dorr, 1983; Villa-Vicencio, 1986).

The encyclical was written immediately prior to the convocation of the Second Vatican Council. It constitutes the link between the pre and post conciliar periods (Bullough, 1963). It gave a comprehensive overview of the Church's social teaching until that time and outlined the profound changes that had occurred during the previous two decades in the scientific, political and social spheres. The encyclical stated that "our era is penetrated and shot through by radical errors, it is torn and upset by deep disorder". It continued that the social teaching of the Church is always a proclamation of justice in the name of Christ and while justice is indeed perennial, its application must always take into account the particular circumstances of the time and seek to correct the injustices that occur in every age (Alberigo in Concilium, 1987 : 91; Bullough, 1963). Herein lies the originality of this encyclical. It clearly referred to contemporary realities and set out the parameters of the Church's relationship to these realities. The encyclical marked a new tone in the social teaching of the Catholic Church (Hebblethwaite, 1985). The issues of the day could no longer be ignored. The Church had to come to terms with "the signs of the times", the 'i signi dei tempi'. This concept would pervade the discussions of the Second Vatican Council.(7)

The encyclical claimed concern for the whole person and sought the promotion and integral liberation of human beings in terms of both their 'earthly' and

'transcendental' dimensions for the spiritual and the social, the private and the public, the individual and the community are the concern of the Church. The perspective of the encyclical was global. There was a realization that such a perspective was necessary for an authentic understanding of the causes of social problems and for working toward their eradication. Gradually the Church was looking beyond Europe. The increased interdependence of peoples both at national and international levels was acknowledged. The culture of developing nations was to be respected. The imbalances between rich and poor nations were seen as the most difficult problem of the modern world. The problems of neo-colonialism were recognized.

The international community was urged to address these problems and contribute to the minimizing of imbalances between nations. The encyclical asserted that the goods of the earth belong to all and all have the right to enjoy them. A more just distribution of wealth was necessary and cooperation between nations was imperative. Governments were warned against using aid expediently thereby creating unhealthy dependence, as this would be another form of colonialist domination.

Dorr argues that 'Mater et Magistra' put the weight of the Church behind programmes of social reform in favour of the poor on both national and international levels. The encyclical advocated a considerable degree of control by public authorities over the activities of individuals and of groups. It recommended that certain initiatives be undertaken by the state to help those who are economically and socially disadvantaged. There was an emphasis on the principle of subsidiarity and on the social responsibilities regarded as implicit in the ownership of private property. Furthermore, it was envisaged that these responsibilities should be enforced by law. Dorr continues that this suggests a shift from a concern about the rights pertaining to private ownership to one about poverty and the rights of the poor

(Dorr, 1983; Hebblethwaite, 1985 : 361-362). 'Mater et Magistra' refused to provide any legitimization of the privileges of the elite and pointed the way to greater solidarity with the poor.

VATICAN II AND THE POST CONCILIAR SOCIAL TEACHING

The Second Vatican Council was an attempt to bridge the gap between the Catholic Church and the modern world. Vatican II facilitated the gradual but definite transition on behalf of the Church from a policy of condemnation of the modern world to a policy of engagement, dialogue and ecumenism (Feirro, 1977 : 16). Archbishop Hurley, who was among those present at the Council, observed that "The Second Vatican Council jerked the Catholic Church out of its fortress mentality, the mentality into which it had retreated after the Reformation, the Enlightenment and the French Revolution. In a most dramatic way, the Church came once more to the realisation that its great task was to evangelise the world and all things human, and to associate itself with all that seemed to be on the side of Christ" (Christian Forum, Spring 1989).(8)

Vatican II was described officially as a pastoral council and it called the church to new tasks. John XXIII's opening address set the tone and programme for the Council. He expressed the hope that it would represent the teaching of the Church to all people in a manner that took account of the failings, demands and opportunities of "our times". The emphasis was on the assessment of the historical moment in which the council had assembled (Aberigo in Concilium, 1987 : 91).

In attempting to define the church's relationship to the world, the decrees of Vatican II renounced the instruments of external power in matters religious, affirmed the dignity even of an erring conscience, and stated that the church is not the normative model for a legitimate secular order. In principle, the church renounced considerable power to which it had previously unabashedly laid

claim (Rahner, 1981).

'*Gaudium et Spes*' or 'The Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World' was one of the most innovative and significant of the documents of Vatican II. It looked upon the modern world in a positive way and encouraged Catholics to play an active part in it (Baum, 1979 :75). The issues which formed the essentials of '*Gaudium et Spes*' were the fundamental equality of nations in the exercise of their respective rights and duties; the social responsibility of the Church especially in the underdeveloped countries where the Church must show itself to be the Church of all - particularly of the poor; marriage and family life; the right of all to religious freedom and peace between nations (Flannery, 1980 : 903-1002).

Personalism, the essentially social nature of the human person, the relationship between the church and the world, justice and development also merited particular attention. Justice and the dignity of the human person are interlinked. All must be treated equally. Human institutions must minister to the dignity of all. This social ethic extends to the economic. Existing economic inequalities must be redressed. '*Gaudium et Spes*' offered a systematic ethical framework for dealing with world problems and called for appropriate pastoral action. The emphasis of Vatican II was practical and pastoral rather than dogmatic and ideological. It sought to offer succour to the modern world - not to condemn it. Its principal concern was to bring the church closer to the people.

The Catholic Church declared itself in solidarity with all humanity. It defined its mission as the service of the human community in the creation of a more just and peaceful world. Development and economic expansion were seen as providing solutions to many problems. Dorr suggests that the most significant contribution of Vatican II to Catholic Social Teaching was that it committed the church to

the relinquishment of its privileges in order to make its witness more sincere and effective (Dorr, 1983 : 256-257).

It was also clear in the teachings of the council that ordinary people are called to pursue holiness not only by "the faithful performance of their religious duties....but also by infusing with charity and pursuing with diligence their roles in secular society" ('Lumen Gentium' in Flannery, 1980 : 350-451). Vatican II unambiguously affirmed that the extent of salvation includes deliverance from oppression and injustice (Baum, 1987). Furthermore, the ecclesiology of the council was geared to ecumenical dialogue and collegiality.

John XXIII's last encyclical 'Pacem in Terris - Peace on Earth' promulgated on 11 April 1963, further emphasized the new centrality of the defence of human rights in the official pronouncements of the Church. The encyclical discussed the mission of the Church in the world, its responsibility to the human race, and the need for it to co-operate with all people of goodwill within the world community in striving for peace. The encyclical also drew attention to the urgent need for disarmament and the banning of nuclear weapons.

The Vatican Council and 'Pacem in Terris' were signs that the Catholic church was emerging into full participation in the world community with a commitment to the common good and human rights. 'Pacem in Terris' focused on the rights proper to each individual; the relationship between authority and conscience; the content of peace and the development of the common good. The common good of each political community cannot be separated from the universal common good of the whole human community.

'Populorum Progressio - On the Development of Peoples' published by Paul VI in 1967 attempted to apply the social doctrine of Vatican II to the problems of contemporary world economics and the disparity in wealth among the nations. The encyclical argued that in the world economic system, the exercise of

social justice by both labour and management is not only good economics but is supportive of a better society for all. The dignity and rights of the human person were reiterated while the problems of development were stressed.

This encyclical offered an economic interpretation of the causes of war and stressed that economic justice was a prerequisite for peace. 'Populorum Progressio' thus marked a shift in emphasis from paternalistic charity to an emphasis on economic growth and a more equitable distribution of wealth and resources. It proposed that development was a new name for peace. The principles of human rights, social development, popular participation and the right in justice of the poorer nations to the aid of the wealthier nations who have a moral duty to assist, were stressed. It was hinted that in extreme situations the poor have recourse to violent resistance. However, a consensus model of society was favoured. The encyclical indicated a movement in Catholic social thought from 'other worldly' to 'this worldly' preoccupations. The 'this worldly' theme was developed further in subsequent church teaching.

'Octogesima Adveniens', published on the occasion of the 80th anniversary of 'Rerum Novarum' continued the themes of 'Populorum Progressio'. It stated that the Church has a duty to take part in the promotion of a society where all people have equal rights. The encyclical reminded the Christian community everywhere "to analyse with objectivity the situation which is proper to their own country, to shed on it the light of the Gospel's unalterable words and to draw principles of reflection, norms of judgement and directives for action from the social teaching of the Church" (Catholic Truth Society, 1971).

In 'Octogesima Adveniens' Paul VI distinguished between various forms of socialism, some of which are in keeping with and others at odds with Christian social principles. Socialisms which remained ideologically pluralistic are acceptable. Catholic social teaching had moved from Leo XIII's repudiation of socialism to Paul VI's qualified acknowledgement of

the merits of socialism. Socialism was no longer entirely anathema (Baum, 1987 : 17-18).

There are no specifically Christian solutions to political and social problems. However, the theme emerges that in order to spell out the social meaning of the Gospel, Christians must analyse the structures of evil operative in the societies of which they are part. Action for justice is the personal responsibility of each Christian and also of Christian organisations and institutions. This responsibility involves both the effort to bear witness to the principles of justice in personal and community life and also the striving to give these principles life in the broader society. Christians should therefore involve themselves in social reform.

The 'Synod of Bishops' statement on 'Justice in the World', published in 1971, emphatically stated that "Action on behalf of justice and participation in the transformation of the world fully appear to us as a constitutive dimension of the preaching of the Gospel or, in other words, of the Church's mission for the redemption of the human race and its liberation from every oppressive situation" (Justice and Peace Commission, 1988).

It was on the occasion of this synod that the term 'social sin' was used for the first time in the church's official teaching and marked a turning point in Catholic social teaching. The bishops adopted a position that went beyond Vatican II. Christian life includes a socio-political commitment toward the reconstruction of society in terms of greater justice. Any distinction between the 'vertical' and 'horizontal' dimensions of Christian life was rejected. The responsibility of Christians for the human community is not secondary but rather critical and elementary (Baum, 1979 : 76). The document admitted that a church which presumes to speak about justice must also practice justice in its own institutional life.

'Justice in the World' gave clarity and force to many of the emerging principles of Catholic social teaching. It criticizes and condemns social policies which have resulted in injustice and gives examples ranging from the plight of migrants and refugees to those suffering religious and political persecution. While recognising that the political mission of the Church is indirect, the synod nevertheless affirms the responsibility of the Church and its members to speak out against injustice. The synod also set out propositions which provided general guidelines for the continued promulgation of the right to development.

The topic of the 1974 Synod of Bishops was evangelisation. The reflections and substance of the synod were given to Pope Paul VI and were promulgated in his famous encyclical 'Evangelii Nuntiandi': Evangelisation in the Modern World.(9) The emphasis of the encyclical was on liberation from oppression rather than action for justice. This effectively means that the peoples of the first world are called to do justice, while those from the third world are urged to struggle for liberation. The encyclical attempts to integrate the social teachings of the church into the rest of the teachings of the church to form an organic whole. Evangelisation describes all the tasks of the church and is also the essential mission of the church. "Evangelisation involves an explicit message ... about the rights and duties of every human being, about family life, about life in society, about international life, peace, justice and development - a message especially energetic today about liberation ... the church has the duty to proclaim the liberation of millions of human beings, so many of whom are her own children - the duty of assisting the birth of this liberation, of giving witness to it, of ensuring that it is complete. This is not foreign to evangelisation"(Evangelisation in the Modern World 29 and 30).

The emphasis of the Second Vatican Council (1962-1965) on the church as a community which must respond to the modern world, on the solidarity with and concern of the church for those who suffer and are poor; on the building of

universal brotherhood and international justice and peace; on the increased participation of the laity in church structures which gave encouragement and fresh impetus to the process of ecclesial and theological assessment in the Third World.

The shift to the left reflected in the post conciliar Roman documents, particularly the 1971 synod, profoundly affected the social teaching of the Catholic hierarchies in many parts of the world. It was also the catalyst for the development of the theology that was to become known as the Theology of Liberation.

During August - September 1968 the Second General Conference of the Latin American Episcopacy (C.E.L.A.M.) met in Medellin, Columbia. The central concern of this gathering was to confront the impoverishment of the majority of the people of Latin America. It was the occasion for the Catholic Church in that area to examine and relate the conclusions of the Second Vatican Council to the particular conditions in Latin America. The theme was 'The Church in the present transformation of Latin America in the light of the Council'. The result was a radical reappraisal of the role and mission of the Church in that region. This process was formalised in the Medellin Conference documents, in which a new agenda for the Latin American church was outlined (O'Brien and Shannon, 1977 : 547-580). In these documents the church appears decisively in its missionary aspect, but with a programme of action (Sobrino in 'Reflections on Puebla', 1980 : 23). This would lead the church into controversial social and political terrain. The Medellin Conference was an important catalyst and even more significantly it was and remains a symbol of a changing church. It can be regarded as a qualitative leap forward for a church, which over the preceeding five hundred years had been indisputably associated with the processes of conquest, colonization and exploitation (Dussel, 1981). The documents of Medellin are clear examples of the growing acknowledgement of

the link between religious principles, political analysis, and pastoral action.

Briefly, the bishops at Medellin by focusing on the role of the church from the perspective of the underdeveloped countries came to recognise that development and expansion promoted by the North Atlantic nations was in fact creating a state of dependency and increasing exploitation in Latin America. In the light of such realities, the conference concluded that the Christian community must be in solidarity with the poor and oppressed and be with them in their struggle for liberation, peace and justice (Baum, 1979 : 75ff; O'Brien and Shannon, 1977).

However, developments in the Roman Catholic Church in Latin America were in no way divorced from those of the universal church. Rather they should be understood as part of the 'aggiornamento', or the bringing up-to-date of the church, initiated by Vatican II (Gaudium et spes in Flannery, 1981).

Liberation Theology can be described as an attempt to explore some of the questions suggested by political theology within the particular context of the Third World. As such it can be understood to be part of the search for both a new ecclesiological understanding and a new ecclesial praxis which has characterised the Catholic church in the post-conciliar years (Bonino, 1980 : 157; Kirby, 1981 : 21).

Liberation Theology has been the subject of heated debate and intense controversy. It has been vehemently criticized. It has been condemned as influenced by marxist/atheistic materialism. It has been accused of bringing politics into the church, of propagating class conflict and even violence, of misinterpreting scripture and of being potentially heretical. This controversy necessarily involves debate concerning the causes of injustice, the meaning and content of justice, the means to the attainment of just ends, and, most importantly, the role that faith, the church and pastoral action should play in

relation to these processes. As the pioneer Liberation Theologian Gustavo Gutierrez writes, "The question regarding the theological meaning of liberation is, in truth, a question about the very meaning of Christianity and about the mission of the church" (Gutierrez, 1974 : xi).

The Third General Conference of Latin American Bishops (C.E.L.A.M.) was held at Pueblo de Los Angeles, Mexico in 1979. The conference was opened by the recently elected Pope John Paul II. Although this was the occasion when the Latin American Catholic Church formally declared its commitment to the 'preferential option for the poor' the conference was marked by controversy ('Reflection on Pueblo' C.I.I.R., London, 1980).

The post-Medellin period was characterized by a conservative backlash. The Pueblo Conference reiterated what had been fundamental in the Medellin Conference, but this was paralleled by a fear of the 'marxistisation' of the church. Many traditionalists were fearful of what they perceived as a preoccupation with the misery and material conditions of the people at the expense of interior spirituality. The Theology of Liberation became the object of much suspicion and its orthodoxy in terms of the magisterium of the church was called into question.

On 6 August 1984, Cardinal Ratzinger, as prefect of the Sacred Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, signed a document entitled 'Instruction on some aspects of the Theology of Liberation'. This 'Instruction' expressed the formal reflection of the Catholic Magisterium on the theology of liberation.

Briefly, the 'Instruction' can be divided into two sections. The first section positively affirms certain aspects of the Theology of Liberation for the following reasons:-

1. Liberation is one of the principle signs of our times and thus there is an authentic Theology of Liberation.

2. The Theology of Liberation has definite biblical foundations. The theme of liberation is fundamental to the bible and is part of any biblical hermeneutic.
3. Liberation Theology concurs in important aspects with the social teaching of the magisterium.
4. The theology of liberation as correctly understood results in reconciliation.

However, the second section of the 'Instruction' is more negative in tone and raises misgivings:-

1. Liberation Theology is charged with the uncritical use of marxist categories and concepts. All theology rooted in "marxist ideology" or a "hermeneutic marked by rationalism" is rejected (VI,10), as are all theological works, which under the name of "the theology of liberation" call for a "novel interpretation of both the content of faith and of Christian existence from the faith of the church" (VI,9) all theologies that attempt to use the "ideological core" of marxism as the "determining principle" for theological reflection are likewise renounced. (VIII,1)
2. While the 'Instruction' recognizes the positive potential of the use of the social sciences by liberation theologians, it asserts the need for a "careful epistemological critique" to overcome the "almost mythical fascination" that the term "scientific" extends (VII.4). Furthermore, the 'Instruction' cautions that "the use of philosophical positions or human sciences by the theologian has a value which might be called instrumental but yet must undergo a critical study from a theological perspective. In other words, the ultimate and decisive criterion for truth can only be a criterion which is itself theological". (VII,10)
3. The 'Instruction' is sharply critical of what it termed "ideological marxism", that reduces scientific knowledge, consciousness, truth and morality to the logic of class struggle. (VII,8)

4. A theology of liberation that denies the theological reality of faith, charity and hope, that politicizes all faith and all theology and subordinates everything to political criteria is condemned (IX,5-7), as are all forms of sociological and political reductionism. (IX,8)

The 'Instruction' issued an invitation to theologians to comment, engage in dialogue and participate in discussion that might enrich the social magisterium of the Church. There was also an indication that a second document would follow the controversial 'Instruction' "to detail in a positive fashion that great richness" of the themes of Christian freedom and liberation "for the doctrine and life of the church".

The Vatican's second major document on liberation theology was promulgated on 5 April 1986 by the Sacred Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith. It was entitled "Instruction on Christian Freedom and Liberation". This document had a different emphasis and was regarded as a theological mandate from the Vatican to develop and pursue the implications of Liberation Theology without the strictures imposed by the formal disapproval of Rome. Certain guidelines remained but these were not in dispute. The 'new' theology was not heretical (that is wrong doctrine) and did not undermine or in any way contradict the magisterium of the Roman Catholic Church (Instruction on Christian Freedom and Liberation, Rome 1986).

The official position of the magisterium had been revised and the Theology of Liberation formally acknowledged as a valid response to the problems of the contemporary world, both important and useful and recognized as a legitimate theology.

This second 'Instruction' was divided into 5 chapters. The first considered the achievements and failures of the 'post Reformation Liberation Movement'. Chapter two looked at 'the person's vocation to freedom and the drama of sin'

from a philosophical perspective, while chapter three outlined the biblical basis of Christian Freedom and Liberation. The fourth chapter put forward "the liberating mission of the church" and included discussion on Basic Christian Communities, the preferential option for the poor and the process of theological reflection. The last chapter dealt with the social doctrine of the Catholic Church and the Christian praxis of liberation. The document concluded that while the role of the church is primarily spiritual, it also necessarily involves promoting integral liberation from all that impedes people's development.

The document is clearly the strongest official support of Liberation Theology that has yet been expressed. It sets forth the minimum principles that must be present in all Liberation Theology. It sees the Theology of Liberation as marking a new stage in the theological tradition and teaching of the church. The epistemological contribution of the social sciences is recognized.

The document allows the space for the development of theologies of liberation that are appropriate to the conditions and experiences of Christians in other areas. Such contextual theologies could well be different from that articulated by the experience of the church in Latin America. These theologies must however reflect the doctrinal principles of Christian freedom and liberation. The second 'Instruction' is a reformulation of the social doctrine and teaching of the church. It endorses the theology of liberation provided it remains in dialogue with the entire Christian theological tradition (Baum, 1987 : 104).

As Hebblethwaite remarks "Liberation Theology can claim much of the credit for jolting the Church out of alienation and passive acquiescence to injustice" (quoted in 'Inter Nos', Vol 9, April 1985 : 6).

THE SOCIAL TEACHING OF POPE JOHN PAUL II

The social teaching of the catholic church during the 1980's has been dominated by the debate concerning the theology of liberation and the teachings of the reigning pontiff John Paul II .

John Paul II's first social encyclical 'Redemptor hominis' promulgated in 1979 asserted that the mission of the church is one and indivisible: proclamation and witness to justice "The Church considers this concern for human beings, for their humanity, for the future of the human race on earth and therefore also for the direction of the totality of development and progress - to be inextricably linked to the Church's own mission and an essential element of it " (Redemptor hominis 15).

The encyclical letter 'Laborem exercens ', On Human Work, was issued in September 1981, to mark the nintieth anniversary of 'Rerum Novarum'. It focused on contemporary technological, economic and political conditions, on automation and its consequences in terms of redundancy, rising costs, environmental issues and the demand for political justice. However, the encyclical also pointed out that modern technological developments were also cause for hope in that they had enormous potential to serve humanity .

The encyclical reiterates that "The Church considers it her task always to call attention to the dignity and rights of those who work , to condemn situations in which that dignity and those rights are violated and to help to guide changes so as to ensure authentic progress by man and society " (S.A.C.B.C., 1981 : 9). The central idea of the encyclical is the priority of labour over capital. The emphasis is on the subjective dimension of labour. The subject of work is more important than that which work produces. The crucial question regarding capital is not its ownership but rather its use. Capital must be used to serve labour, i.e. those who make up the labour force . Justice means that capital is

made to serve labour. Therefore, those who are concerned with the realization of justice must extend their solidarity to the workers and identify themselves with the struggle of the oppressed. This is a moral decision. The call for the solidarity of the poor and with the poor is truly a radical Christian principle.

The encyclical also includes an acknowledgement of the importance of domestic labour and housework , and comments on discrimination against women. The issue of just remuneration for work done is given prominence. The deontological and moral aspects of wages and other social benefits are highlighted.

Baum suggests that in this encyclical John Paul II attempts to find principles of social justice which are applicable to Western and Eastern societies and at the same time relevant to the third world. While the encyclical remains in continuity with the Church's social teaching, it introduces new ideas derived from a critical and creative dialogue with Marxism. This allowed John Paul II to reread Catholic tradition in a new light and offer fresh insights. Baum continues that this expansion and re-evaluation produces a social philosophy that transcends Marxism from within (Baum, 1982 : 3). The encyclical looks forward to a planned economy based on Christian socialist principles, worker participation and international cooperation. It concedes that all social disorders are connected to human labour and that it is therefore in this area that they must be redressed.

The encyclical '*Sollicitudo Rei Socialis* ', on the Social Concern of the Church, was promulgated on 30 December 1987 to commemorate the 20th anniversary of '*Populorum Progressio*'. It affirmed that there is a moral dimension to economic, social and political development. The need to take into account not only the material dimension of man but also his interior dimension is stressed. "Human beings are totally free only when they are completely themselves, in the fullness of their rights and duties" (S.A.C.B.C., 1988 : 93). The encyclical

concludes that the processes of development and liberation take concrete shape in the exercise of solidarity. The Church is called on to be a sign of hope - " the Church must strongly affirm the possibility of overcoming the obstacles which, by excess or by defect stand in the way of development. And she must affirm her confidence in a true liberation....." (S.A.C.B.C., 1988 : 94).

TRENDS IN CATHOLIC SOCIAL TEACHING

Several trends emerge from the foregoing discussion of Catholic social teaching. Also the Theology of Liberation has produced a critique of traditional theology and developed a new approach to theological reflection.

Throughout the social teachings, it is asserted clearly that social and political problems are the concern of the Church. This has frequently involved a critique of the existing social and economic order and an acknowledgement of the need for institutional change. The state is in no way exempt from the moral dictates of ethical laws. There has been increasing recognition that the struggle for justice is an essential element of authentic Christian witness. Both the Church as an institution and the individuals who make up the Church have social responsibilities. The commitment to social justice by the Church calls for solidarity with those who suffer and are exploited. This solidarity must be based on a sense of compassion for the poor (Baum, 1987; Dorr, 1983).

Modern Catholic social teaching has been characterised by an openness to contemporary realities and ideas e.g. poverty, revolution, ecumenism, war and socialism. The Church has also engaged in a dialogue with Marxism and made use of insights from the social sciences. There has also been a qualified acceptance of Liberation Theology. Baum suggests that Church documents in recent years have come to look at society through its contradictions (Baum, 1987 : 217). This has meant that Catholic Church official social teaching has changed significantly from an 'organic' to a 'conflictual' view of society (Baum, 1987 :

237). Such a shift in emphasis has important implications for the Church's understanding of contemporary realities and the meaning of oppression, exploitation, freedom and solidarity. It has also resulted in a new stress on the raising of consciousness among the masses of ordinary people. Social justice is becoming the declared orientation of the magisterium.

The Social Teachings outlined above are relevant to the consideration of both the social teachings and the role played by Catholic Church in South Africa during the post 1948 period which will now be discussed.

1

In his preface to the Catholic Truth Society's edition of 'Rerum Novarum', Joseph Kirwan points out that 'Rerum Novarum' translates as 'of revolution'. He continues that the intention of the encyclical was to address three 'revolutions' - firstly, that of the liberals which had attacked the Church; secondly, that of the socialists which threatened to destroy the Church; and finally that which the Christians ought to be making to restore the Church to its rightful place in society (Kirwan, C.T.S., 1983 : i-ii).

2

This right to private property and both the stated and implied criticism of all other economic systems has been a rallying point for conservative Catholic social groupings, notably the movement for Tradition, Family and Property (T.F.P.). As their name suggests, the right to and defence of private property is a basic tenet of and motivation for the organization.

3

In the course of the discussion regarding the role of the state, the right of freedom of association and to membership of private societies and workingmen's associations, the point is made clearly that "If the state forbids its citizens to associate together it obviously makes war upon itself, for both it and the private associations are born of one and the same principle, the natural sociability of men ... great care must be taken lest the rights of the citizens be emptied of content and unreasonable regulations made under the pretence of public benefit. For laws have to be obeyed only when they accord with right reason and the eternal law of God". At this point the encyclical reminds the faithful of the teaching of Thomas Aquinas in a footnote. "A human law has the force of law to the extent that it falls in with right reason: as such it derives from the eternal law. To the extent that it falls away from right reason it is called a wicked law: as such it has the quality of an abuse of law, rather than of law" (Rerum Novarum, C.T.S., 1983 : 28).

4

The Lateran Treaty between the Holy See and the Italian Government was signed in 1929. According to this agreement the Vatican City became an independent state with the pope as its internationally recognized ruler. The Church renounced all claim to the historic Papal States. The pope was no longer confined to the limited papal lands. Restitution was made to the Vatican City by the Italian Government for the papal lands confiscated by the Kingdom of Italy in 1870. Catholicism was declared the official religion of Italy (Broderick, 1976 : 340-341; Bullough, 1965 : 202).

5

The work of the Catholic Action Movement and of its founder, Father Joseph Cardijn, was singled out for particular praise, for they "with extraordinary zeal aid us in the solution of social problems". Cardijn's Catholic Action Movement was the forerunner of the Young Christian Students (Y.C.S.) and Young Christian Workers (Y.C.W.) youth movements. In South Africa these youth movements have played a significant role in promoting non-racialism and creating an awareness within the Church of injustice and exploitation and the relevance of the social gospel.

6

It should be recalled that 'Rerum Novarum' had placed considerable emphasis on the role of employers, of the propertied, of the owners of the means of production in remedying the harsh conditions of the workers and in maintaining harmonious social relations.

7

The concern is best encapsulated in the conciliar document 'Gaudium et Spes - The Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World', which states "At all times the Church carries the responsibility of reading the signs of the times and of interpreting them in the light of the Gospel, if it is to carry out its task. In language intelligible to every generation, she should be able to answer the ever recurring questions which men ask about the meaning of this present life and of the life to come, and how one is related to the other. We must be aware of and understand the aspirations, the yearnings, and the often dramatic features of the world in which we live" (Flannery, 1980 : 905).

8

Archbishop Hurley of Durban was one of the six representatives from Africa on the Central Preparatory Commission set up to plan the work for the Council, prepare the various agendas and establish further preparatory commissions. He was also voted a member of the Council's Commission of Catholic Education.

9

One of the distinctive features of this synod was that for the first time the bishops from the Third World outnumbered those from the First World.

CHAPTER 4

FROM PATERNALISM TO COMMITMENT 1948 -1977

"But how far is it not tragically true that these Churches have become distorted symbols? How far do they stand for an ethic which the whites have brought, preached and refused to practice?.... How far do these Churches represent something alien from the spirit of Christ, a sort of patronising social service? Do not many Christian ministers talk down to us instead of coming down (if that is the direction) among us, as Christ did and does?

- Albert Luthuli (1982 : 118).

"The Catholics pretend to condemn apartheid and yet in practice they cherish it. The Church practised segregation in its seminaries, convents, hospitals, schools, monasteries, associations and Churches, long before the present Government legislated against social integration. The bishops, priests and religious bodies are divided on the question of apartheid"

- Frs. S. Mkhathshwa, C. Mokoka, D. Moetatele, J.L. Louwfant, A. Mabona
(Letter to the Rand Daily Mail and republished in 'Sechaba', Vol. 4,
April, 1970).

THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH AND APARTHEID 1948-1977 - A RESTRAINED PROTEST..

As is evident from the historical overview of the Roman Catholic Church in South Africa in Chapter One, the history of this country has been dominated by colonization and missionization. South Africa has always been an unequal society in which political and economic power has been concentrated in white hands. Blacks have been systematically excluded from the central political institutions of the white state and have had unequal access to the means of production. While the term 'apartheid' has come to be used synonymously with white domination in South Africa, in fact twentieth century South Africa has seen two forms of white domination: segregation and apartheid (Johnston, 1976; Marks and Trapido, 1987; Wolpe, 1988). When the National Party came to power in 1948, South African society was already characterized by racial oppression and great inequalities of wealth. The Nationalist government inherited from its predecessors much discriminatory and exploitative legislation. The policies of successive National Party governments, therefore, have extended, refined and consolidated, rather than fundamentally altered, the pre-existing social and economic structure of South African society.

Johnston argues that the process by which colonial rule was established involved the indissoluble interaction of all elements, that is, the economic, the political, the ideological, the military, the religious, the educational.... The historical content of these elements and their relations of dominance vary, given the historical situation (Johnston, 1976). The policies of the National Party government, far from being anachronistic, rather have encouraged capitalist development by intensifying apartheid. It has therefore been argued that far from conflicting with the demands of capitalist development, apartheid policies have been fundamentally prefixed upon them. Johnston continues that a distinction must be made between 'apartheid' and 'white supremacy'. The former refers to the South African government's racial policies and legitimating

ideology, while the latter refers to the overall power structure in South Africa, which is partly maintained by apartheid policies. The blurred use of these terms however, often seems to imply that the power structure of white supremacy is the product of apartheid policies alone, which it is not (Johnston, 1976). However, the economic structure of white supremacy is maintained by various forms and measures of racial discrimination. The relationship between capitalist development, apartheid policies and the core structure of white supremacy are essentially collaborative. South Africa is a society divided by racial cleavages and it is also a society where the dominant mode of production is capitalist (Johnston, 1976; Slovo, 1976; Wolpe, 1988). It is a society marked by racial discrimination and capitalist exploitation.

The focus of this chapter is on the Roman Catholic Church during the first thirty years of apartheid rule - the period which saw the transition from 'segregation to apartheid' and the refinement, consolidation and aggressive implementation of apartheid policies.

In 1954 Anglican priest Fr Trevor Huddleston wrote a letter to the 'Observer' in London in which he charged that:

"The Church sleeps on. It sleeps on while 60 000 people are moved from their homes in the interests of a fantastic racial theory. It sleeps on while plans are made (and implemented) to transform the education of Africans into a thing called 'Native Education' - which will erect a permanent barrier against Western culture reaching the African at all. It sleeps on while a dictatorship is swiftly being created over all Native Affairs in the Union, so that speech and movement and association are no longer free. The Church sleeps on - though occasionally it talks in its sleep and expects (or does it?) the government to listen" ('New Nation', 18 February 1988).

The letter was an indictment of the 'English-speaking Churches'. This chapter considers the validity of this critique in terms of the actions and teachings of the Roman Catholic Church during the first three decades of Nationalist rule.

The National Party, under the leadership of Dr D.F. Malan, won the 1948 general election. The new Government rejected the United Nations 'Declaration of Human Rights' and set about the restructuring of the Union according to the policy of apartheid or, as it later became known, separate development. Dr H.F. Verwoerd, the grand architect of apartheid policy, described it as "one of getting the natives to grow from their own roots, out of their own institutions and from their own powers. It is a policy of gradual development through mother tongue and own environment to bring the natives to literacy and usefulness in their own circle ... There is no room for him in European society above the level of certain forms of labour" (Quoted in Huddleston, 1956 : 53). A barrage of legislation was introduced to serve this end (Ballinger, 1969; Horrell, 1966; Roux, 1968 : 434-444). (1)

In October 1960 a referendum of white opinion was held on the issue of a republic within the British Commonwealth of Nations. The republican option gained the majority of votes. However, the members of the Commonwealth were not prepared to accept South Africa's continued membership unless there were changes in the policy of apartheid. No compromise was reached and South Africa's application for continued membership was withdrawn. On 31st May 1961 South Africa became a republic outside the Commonwealth. There was to be no deviation from the policy of separate development (de Klerk, 1976 : 240).

The enactment and vigorous enforcement of apartheid legislation did not go unchallenged by the discriminated against and disenfranchized people of South Africa. In December 1951 the African National Congress (A.N.C.) adopted a resolution calling for the repeal of six 'unjust laws', including the Pass Laws and Group Areas Act. Failing this, the A.N.C. pledged themselves to the defiance of unjust laws. Notice of this resolution was sent to the prime minister, but to no avail. On 26 June 1952 the 'Defiance Campaign' of passive resistance against apartheid legislation was launched. The campaign was characterized by non-

violence, discipline and the willingness to accept the consequences of 'illegal' actions. In 5 months about 8 500 volunteers were charged and convicted, in the most part under a section of the Suppression of Communism Act which made it an offence to bring about political change by illegal actions. The Congress of the People, convened at Kliptown on 26 June 1955, adopted the 'Freedom Charter'. The nearly 3 000 delegates at this democratic gathering were made up of representatives of the A.N.C., the Coloured People's Congress, the South African Indian Congress, the South African Congress of Trade Unions and the white Congress of Democrats - the Congress Alliance. There was participation by all race groups. The Charter expressed the aspirations of the oppressed people of South Africa. Contributions had been canvassed on a national level during the months preceding the gathering. The Charter attempted to give practical content to the concepts of freedom and democracy in the South African context. It was a blue print for a democratic South Africa. The Charter, wrote Chief Luthuli, is "line by line, the direct outcome of conditions which obtain - harsh, oppressive and unjust conditions" (Luthuli, 1982 : 142).

The following year saw many leaders of the Congress Alliance charged with high treason and the treason trials commenced and were followed by banning orders. Extra-parliamentary activities continued in the form of strikes and boycotts. On 21 March 1960 anti-pass demonstrations, initiated by the Pan Africanist Congress (P.A.C.) in Sharpeville township, were met with gun shots and 69 people were killed. The ensuing protest was met with the declaration of a state of emergency, the banning of organizations and large scale detentions.

The following years were to see the strengthening of the state apparatuses of defence and repression, the granting of extensive powers to the police, the gradual introduction of compulsory military service for young white males and the building up of armaments. The Transkeian Constitution Act of 1963 established the first territorial authority or homeland. The doctrine of

separate development assumed concrete reality.

This is the context within which the statements of the Roman Catholic Church on racism and human rights must be considered and evaluated. The discussion of the response of the Catholic Church to the events and processes of this period is divided into three sections. Firstly, the general posture of the Church toward the introduction and implementation of the policy of apartheid is considered. Secondly, the response of the Church to a particular instance of the policy of apartheid, that of the Bantu Education Act of 1953 is examined. Black education was a vital aspect of Catholic missionary endeavour, so the Bantu Education Act particularly encroached on the everyday life and apostolate of the Church. The conflict between the Catholic Church and the state during the 1950's principally concerned the issue of black education. Abraham even suggests that the advent of the Bantu Education Act obliged the Church to reconsider its hitherto essentially conciliatory approach (Abraham, 1989). Thirdly, the gradual development of official Catholic opposition to apartheid in the 1960's and 1970's is discussed.

A. APARTHEID, THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH AND THE 'PRINCIPLES OF RACE RELATIONS'.

The Roman Catholic Church during the period under discussion was not in the forefront of the struggle against racism in South Africa and its protest was not as visible as that of other English speaking Churches. During the early years of Catholic missionary work among the indigenous people of South Africa, the anti-Roman Catholic attitude of successive governments and of the Protestant Churches hindered progress. There was a pervading suspicion of the 'Roomse Gevaar', the 'Roman Danger' (Abraham, 1989; de Gruchy, 1982 : 97-99; Marquard, 1960 : 209; McDonagh, 1983 : 384; Villa-Vicencio, 1988 : 35-37).(2)

The result was the adoption of a very cautious attitude by the hierarchy of

the Church towards the state. Villa-Vicencio labels this caution regarding social and political issues 'a restrained witness' (Villa-Vicencio, 1988 : 35).

The 1950's saw the systematic implementation of apartheid policies. During this period the Church made three principal statements. The National Party had been in power for four years, when in June 1952 the S.A.C.B.C. issued its first statement on race relations entitled "Principles of Race Relations". The term 'apartheid' was not mentioned in the statement but racial discrimination was condemned. "Discrimination based exclusively on the grounds of colour is an offence against the right of non-Europeans to their natural dignity as human persons" (1952 : 6). While acknowledging that the racial policies adopted by the authorities transgressed the human rights of 'non-Europeans', the statement continued that the attitude of the Europeans was not the only reason for South Africa's racial problem. The problem was seen as far more complex. "Its complexity arises out of the fact that the great majority of non-Europeans, and particularly the Africans, have not reached a stage of development that would justify their integration into a homogeneous society with the Europeans. A sudden and violent attempt to force them into the mould of European manners and customs would be disastrous. There must be gradual development and prudent adaptation. Nor must they be required to conform in every respect to European ways, for their own distinctive qualities are capable of rich development" (S.A.C.B.C., 1952). The statement argued therefore that Europeans should be responsible trustees of non-Europeans and proposed that Europeans should gradually incorporate non-Europeans into their society, because "Justice demands that non-Europeans be permitted to evolve gradually towards full participation in the political, economic and cultural life of the country". The statement also pointed out that this evolution could not take place unless the people concerned made their own 'vigorous' contribution towards fitting themselves for the exercise of full citizenship.

There was a strong emphasis on white guardianship and trusteeship. The tone was one of evolutionism and social Darwinism. An essentially colonialist/missionary understanding of South African society informed the statement. The position of the Catholic hierarchy broadly corresponded to that of the United Party which was the official parliamentary opposition during these years and the focal point of white opposition to Nationalist rule. (3)

Gradually, the implementation and enforcement of apartheid began to affect and infringe on the practice of the Church more directly. The Group Areas Act, the Bantu Education Act and the Native Laws Amendment Act challenged the institutional unity and catholicity of the Church and undermined its pastoral efforts. The Church was one of apartheid's many victims. The Group Areas Act "strikes at the Church in her institutions and moreover threatens to disrupt the common life of priests and religious of different races and to wreck their association in educational and charitable undertakings" (Brown, 1960 : 341). The predominately white clergy became increasingly apprehensive of being unable to carry out their pastoral work in black areas. White priests certainly could not live in the black areas to which they ministered. The Group Areas Act and the resultant relocation of people to racially separate areas meant that white missionaries were forcibly separated from the people they wished to serve. The removals of Africans out of white areas continued throughout the 1950's and 1960's. The Group Areas Act effectively put an end to much missionary work (McDonough, 1983 : 337-8; 374). Several missions were compelled to close as the people whom the facilities served had been moved elsewhere. Sister Louis Michael McDonough describes the inevitable closure of one such mission, the Bantule mission, the oldest Roman Catholic mission in Pretoria, and states "The Bantule Mission did not die, it was killed" (McDonough, 1983 : 303). Racial segregation, codified and legislated as apartheid, obliged the Church, in faithfulness to its social teaching, to criticize its more aggressive

manifestations.

At the same time, the Bantu Education Act of 1953, which legislated the nationalization of all schools and educational institutions for blacks was a further blow for the Church and the effects were far reaching. The Catholic hierarchy issued a pastoral letter on 30 November 1954, entitled 'The Call to Sacrifice'. (The issue of the Catholic mission schools is discussed in greater depth later).

The 'Church Clause' of the Native Laws Amendment Act no 36 of 1957 made it extremely difficult for blacks to attend Church services in so-called white areas. This Act gave the Minister of Native Affairs the authority to order that no Black "shall attend any Church in any urban area outside a native residential area" (Brown, 1960 : 342; Horrell, 1966 : 40-41). The state was attempting to regulate Christian worship, devotions and religious practice. Religious freedom would be severely compromised by such legislation. The Catholic hierarchy as a whole rejected this clause and made it clear that the churches would remain open to all. The opposition to the legislation from church leaders, clergy and laity of many denominations all over South Africa was so strong that the government did not implement the 'church clause' (Ballinger, 1969 : 356).

In July 1957 the S.A.C.B.C. in a statement called "A Sin to Humiliate one's Fellow Men" explicitly condemned apartheid as "intrinsically evil" because it aimed to preserve white supremacy at the expense of black rights. Villa-Vicencio argues that in so doing the S.A.C.B.C. became the first Church body to theologically reject apartheid in its entirety. (Villa-Vicencio, 1988 : 36).

However, the statement continued that "this condemnation of the principle of apartheid as something intrinsically evil does not imply that perfect equality can be established in South Africa by a stroke of the pen ... the existence of

profound differences between sections of our population make immediate total integration impossible. But change must come" (S.A.C.B.C., 1957). The statement also made a strong moral appeal to whites, "obviously no South African government can attempt such a change without the consent of the white citizens. On their shoulders lies squarely the burden of responsibility. Let them examine their conscience in the light of Christ's teaching to all white South Africans we direct our earnest plea to consider carefully what apartheid means" (S.A.C.B.C., 1957). In spite of the theological rejection of apartheid the interests of the white population were seen as paramount. The tone remained one of paternalism and racial chauvinism. There was a tendency to work for, rather than with, the poor and disenfranchised. In these terms Africans are implicitly seen as objects which have been oppressed, discriminated against and segregated. They are denied their role as subjects. Black nationalism and opposition to the processes of apartheid are overlooked. The ideological bias of the S.A.C.B.C. is apparent. The legitimacy of white supremacy is assumed and by the failure to question this assumption, white supremacy is implicitly affirmed. In this sense the S.A.C.B.C. contributed to the perpetuation of white domination, power and privilege. The economic and political hegemony of the whites was not challenged. This outlook was to pervade the pastoral practice of the Catholic Church until the late 1970's.

Apartheid exerted an undeniable influence on the life and pastoral work of the Church. The Church may have condemned these policies but apartheid processes seemed unavoidable. Separate development compromised the essence of the institutional unity of the Roman Catholic Church and thus struck at the very identity of the Church. The enforcement of apartheid legislation exerted considerable pressure on the whole of South African society to conform in practice to the letter if not the spirit of the law. This the Church hierarchy candidly acknowledged, "The practice of segregation, though

officially not recognized in our Churches, characterizes nevertheless many of our Church societies, our schools, seminaries, convents, hospitals and the social life of our people" (S.A.C.B.C., 1957). The statement counselled patience and moderation. It advocated gradual, evolutionary change. The tone was essentially conciliatory and had few practical implications. There was little awareness of the protest and resistance of the people most affected by the "intrinsically evil" policy, and no consultation with them. Fr. Trevor Huddleston's critique of the Churches in general at this period is relevant here.

"We like to think that 'the voice of the Church' uttering through official channels its condemnation of the different acts or measures is a proof of its vigour and its life. Yet we know very well that these utterances have been totally ineffective in preventing inroads upon personal freedom, and that when particular persons have been attacked and shackled in this way no united effort has been made by the Church to aid them The Church is conniving at a policy which openly proclaims itself one of racial domination, of white supremacy, of 'baaskap' because it fears that any effective or determined opposition will lose it the allegiance of its white members In the meanwhile personal liberty has reached vanishing point, and that human dignity, which the Church is pledged to protect, can hardly survive" (Huddleston, 1956 : 157).

In its own terms the Church stood indicted and compromised. In the end its policy was one of appeasement rather than confrontation. The Churches' opposition to apartheid was rhetorical rather than practical.

The above statements are written from a privileged and white perspective and are addressed primarily to whites, who are seen as guardians or custodians of black rights. The statements are unselfconsciously paternalistic, while the voice of the majority of the members of the Church, who are black, is singularly absent. No mention is made of the 'Defiance Campaign' or of the mass struggles which punctuated the 1950's in both the urban and rural areas.

While the white, missionary, Catholic Church opposed the more blatantly racist

policies of the white, apartheid, calvinist state, it was unclear and not a little confused as to what was to be done. However, the Catholic Mission Schools were the one issue on which the Roman Catholic Church was not prepared to accommodate the apartheid policies envisaged by the Bantu Education Act of 1953. This is particularly significant as the Roman Catholic Church and the Seventh Day Adventist Churches were the only Christian Churches that did not capitulate to state demands and relinquish control of their schools (Marquard 1960 : 190).(4)

B. THE BANTU EDUCATION ACT AND THE CATHOLIC SCHOOLS.

The first Catholic schools in South Africa were established for the children of white Catholic settlers. These schools proved so successful and popular that many Protestants began sending their children to the Catholic schools (Brown, 1960 : 46). Several religious congregations were invited to open further schools for whites. "By the 1870's, the Catholic system of education in private schools by the religious orders had entered into the cultural formation of South Africa" (Flannagan in Prior, 1982 : 84). Later the Church gradually began to establish schools for blacks, 'coloureds' and Indians as part of the programme of black evangelization. There were now separate schools for whites and for blacks - a situation which was to endure until the 1970's.(5)

Initially, the Catholic Church was financially responsible for all Catholic mission schools, but in time a system of state subsidisation was established. The mission schools were now the mutual responsibility of the church and the state, and the arrangement proved satisfactory for all concerned. But this system came to an abrupt end with the introduction of the Bantu Education Act of 1953.

The report of the government commission of inquiry, which formed the basis of the Bantu Education Act, stated that existing educational facilities for blacks were not consistent with the plan for the socio-economic development of blacks. An educational system must therefore be devised which was more closely related to the labour requirements of the country's economy. At the same time it must not undermine the 'rightful' position of the white worker. Such an education system should be geared toward social control and also conform to the traditions and customs of black culture. "Bantu Education aimed to generate and maintain a social structure based on apartheid" (Flannagan in Prior, 1982 : 86). It was education for servitude.

The practical result of the Bantu Education Act was that black schools were nationalized. The administration and control of all black education was transferred from the provincial authorities to the Department of Native Affairs, so that by 1958 black education would become a separate government department with its own minister. The syllabi of black schools would be changed in accordance with the aim of preparing black children for a 'separate existence'. The subsidy on which the mission schools were dependent was withdrawn. All government subsidization of Church mission schools would cease from December 1957. The mission schools were to be handed over to the state. However, if the churches wished to retain control of schools on an unsubsidized basis, they would have to apply for the registration of these institutions as private schools. The decision whether or not to grant registration would be made by the Minister of Bantu Education (Horrell, 1966 : 51-52).

At this time the Catholic Church was deeply involved in black education. 15% of mission schools for blacks were run by the Catholic Church. There were 688 state-aided Catholic schools for blacks and 130 unaided schools. This meant that the Catholic mission schools were responsible for the education of approximately 11 360 pupils. The Catholic Church was not the only Church

affected. Huddleston points out that the Churches were largely responsible for all black education in the Union. "the position was that in 1945 there were 4 360 mission schools and only 230 Government schools, and of those 230 Government schools, four fifths had been built only within the previous twenty years" (Huddleston, 1956 : 162). There was no unified response on behalf of the Churches and there were no concessions from the government. However, the Catholic bishops refused to hand over their mission schools to the government, calling on the members of the Church to help them support the schools without state aid. Most non-Catholic missionary bodies obeyed the proscriptions of the Act. A few Anglican schools closed down completely rather than comply.

The Catholic Church intentionally divorced itself from any political opposition to the act and adopted a sectarian approach. The S.A.C.B.C. started the fundraising body, 'The Catholic Mission Schools Fund', and issued the Pastoral Letter "The Call to Sacrifice - The Future of Our Mission Schools", dated 30 November 1954.

"United as we are in one Faith and sharing together in the same Life of Christ, we cannot say that our Catholic mission schools are not our concern because we are not parents or because we are not Africans. On the contrary, we realize now more than ever before that our Catholic mission schools belong intimately to the Catholic life of the whole of South Africa. We, who have committed ourselves by our very profession of Faith to co-operate, under grace, in the consolidation and in the extension of Christ's Kingdom on earth, can have no doubt about the importance and the necessity of our mission schools. As South Africans, too, we can make no greater contribution to the moral prosperity of our country than by a concerted and continuous determination to bring the genuine teaching and influence of Christ into the heart of African life through the length and breadth of our land" (S.A.C.B.C., 1954).

The bishops claimed that in the immensely difficult circumstances, "the Catholic Church with calm serenity and untiring charity, has striven by every possible means to reach a conclusion which would be satisfactory to the

Church, to the State and to the parents of our Bantu children" (S.A.C.B.C., 1954).

Although the Catholic Church refused to co-operate with the strictures of the Bantu Education Act and made alternative financial arrangements to compensate for the withdrawal of governmental subsidies, Catholic opposition to the Act was primarily of a religious nature rather than of concern over the proposed content of Bantu education (Flannagan in Prior, 1982 : 87). The ecclesiastical authorities felt strongly that the black mission schools were an essential part of the Church's pastoral ministry and spiritual evangelization, without which the work of the Church would be severely compromised.

This act of non-cooperation and defiance had some invidious consequences for the Catholic Church. There was considerable financial pressure. Lay teachers were paid only a percentage of their salaries. Resources were limited. The Church's failure to condemn unequivocally the oppressive political nature of 'Bantu Education' drew much criticism. Furthermore, in retaining the mission schools some measure of involvement in the new system of black education was unavoidable and the church schools were obliged to register with the Department of Bantu Education.

The actions of the bishops also incurred the displeasure of the already anti-Catholic Nationalist government and the bishops were subsequently reluctant to antagonize the authorities any further. The refusal of the Catholic Church to hand over its black mission schools was most certainly an act of defiance, but the content of that defiance was ambiguous. While the Church had retained the schools, the experience of the 1960's and especially the 1970's suggested that this had been at some cost. In spite of a sympathetic Catholic environment, Bantu Education remained Bantu Education.

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Black Catholic schools and white Catholic schools continued their separate ways. The issue of Catholic education in separate schools for different race groups remained contentious and divisive within the Church (Flannagan in Prior, 1982 : 89-96). Also there was criticism of the extent of the compromises made by the Church in order to retain the schools and of the lack of analysis regarding the aims and objectives of Bantu Education.

C. "WHAT APARTHEID MEANS"

In their pastoral letter issued in early 1960 the S.A.C.B.C. once again addressed the issue of 'Race Relations'. They wrote that "the urgency of the matter requires that we speak about it again. This problem must be solved soon, and in the light of Christian principles. Otherwise there is little hope for peace and order, as antagonisms will grow, prejudices harden into intolerances, and frustration lead to outbursts of disorder and violence" (S.A.C.B.C., 1960 : 18).

The 1960 pastoral letter condemned "the unlawful use of force and violence" and the migratory labour system. It assumed that race prejudice was the source of the political legislation. "It is a fact also that man differs from man in the talents he possesses, in the heritage of the past that he carries with him, in the ability that he has to contribute to the common good. All of these must be taken into account in the ordering of social life but they must be looked upon as imposing greater responsibility upon the more gifted rather than as simply bringing with them positions of privilege. These inequalities, these accidents of birth and origin do not and cannot deny the fundamental unity of the human race and of all persons who belong to it" (S.A.C.B.C., 1960 : 22). It supported the doctrine of human rights and quoted Pope Pius XII on the "Rights of Man". For the first time, it advocated a political solution for South Africa - a qualified franchise, "colour should not be the criterion, the qualification should be the ability to exercise the vote in a

truly responsible manner" (S.A.C.B.C., 1960 : 27). The Church's advocacy of a qualified franchise was similar to that of the newly formed Progressive Party. The Progressive Party declared itself in favour of a common franchise, while emphasizing the need to safeguard minority rights. Slightly further to the left of the white political spectrum the Liberal Party stood for a common franchise and the abolition of all forms of racial discrimination (Marquard, 1960 : 156-157). The S.A.C.B.C.. was cautiously adopting a more politically liberal stance - one to the left of the United Party.

Furthermore, in the economic sphere "those who have the skill and ability the desire to advance, should not be deprived of the opportunity of such advancement and progress in their economic position" (S.A.C.B.C., 1960 : 28). This implied the abolition of the colour bar in the economic sector. The Church's right to speak out on political matters was also defended. "The human person cannot be divided against himself, so that his social, economic and political activities cannot be considered apart from his moral obligations. All man's activities must be directed in the light of the Gospel which is given that he might live as God requires and thus reach his great destiny" (S.A.C.B.C., 1960 : 19).

In this pastoral letter, written a month prior to the Sharpeville tragedy, the Bishops expressed grave concern "about the future of our country and all its people" (S.A.C.B.C., 1960 : 18). This concern was well founded. The A.N.C. called for a nationwide stay-at-home in protest at the Sharpeville massacre to take place on 28 March. On 30 March 1960 the government declared a 'State of Emergency'. There were mass arrests and detentions. The A.N.C. and the P.A.C. were declared unlawful organizations. In the face of mass resistance to the pass laws the government announced that African women were also required to carry passes (Roux, 1968 : 440).

"What apartheid means" was becoming increasingly clear. Any resistance to the policies and processes of 'apartheid' would be met with repression. An all-in African Convention of 1 400 delegates, chaired by Nelson Mandela, was held in Pietermaritzburg in 1961. The Convention resolved to call for a national convention to design a 'new, non-racial, democratic constitution for South Africa', and also called for a stay-at-home on 'Republic Day', 31 May 1961. The response of the government was the mobilization of troops to quash the protest. The General Law Amendment Act gave authorities sweeping powers to deal with 'agitators', including house arrest, banning On 16 December 1961 the armed wing of the A.N.C., Umkhonto we Sizwe, was launched.

The response of the Protestant Churches to Sharpeville and its repressive aftermath was the Cottlesloe Consultation of December 1960 (de Gruchy, 1982 : 62-69; Villa-Vicencio, 1988 : 108-109). Those present included representatives of the World Council of Churches, delegates from each of the eight South African member Churches, which at the time still embraced the N.G.K. synods. The gathering was multi-racial. While acknowledging that there were differing positions regarding apartheid, it rejected all unjust discrimination and condemned any apartheid practices within Church structures and worship. The meeting called for regular consultation between race groups on matters of common concern. The validity of mixed marriages was upheld. Attention was drawn to job reservation, migratory labour and low wages. Other resolutions focused on freedom of worship, the courts, the political rights of the Asian community and the direct representation of 'coloureds' in parliament. Delegates committed themselves to future consultation and cooperation between their different Churches in the spirit of ecumenism. Ecumenism had yet to become a force in the Catholic Church and this Church was conspicuous by its absence. The N.G.K. synods subsequently recanted their support for the resolutions of this interdenominational and multi-racial consultation and resigned from the W.C.C.

These actions served to isolate the N.G.K. from the English-speaking Churches and were indicative of its collusion with the nationalist government's policies and practices (Bosch in Villa-Vicencio and de Gruchy, 1985 : 69-71). The approach of the Catholic Church remained sectarian.

No immediate response on behalf of the Roman Catholic Church to the events of 1960 and 1961 was forthcoming. However, early in 1962 the S.A.C.B.C. issued another pastoral letter. The purpose of the letter was the announcement of the convocation of the Second Vatican Council. The Bishops also used this opportunity to re-state their position on South African social issues. "As a Christian people we dare not remain silent and passive in the face of the injustices inflicted on members of the unprivileged racial groups. Colour must never be permitted to offer an excuse or a pretext for injustice We must use every lawful means suggested by our Christian conscience in order to counteract and overcome the injustices pressing down on underprivileged groups through the toleration of a starvation level of wages, of job-reservation, of the evils which flow from compulsory migratory labour, particularly when the people who belong to these groups are denied the elementary right to organise in defence of their legitimate interests. Let there be no doubt among us that it is a Christian duty to use every lawful means to bring about a more equitable and harmonious relationship between all the different groups of people who together form our Southern African society" (S.A.C.B.C., 1962 : 38).

The 1962 letter unequivocally condemned racism. "If charity grows cold among men, it is because they do not want to take to heart all that is meant by seeing Christ in their neighbour. How can Christ be there in someone poor or needy or distressed? 'Lord, when was it that we saw Thee hungry, or thirsty, or a stranger, or naked, or sick or in prison, and did not minister to Thee?' And the King will answer: 'Believe me, when you refused it to one of the least of my brethren, you refused it to Me'. Here then is the Christian test

which must be applied to racial prejudice. As long as we have acted like that towards anyone who differs from us in colour, so it is that we have acted towards Christ Himself" (S.A.C.B.C., 1962 : 39). In spite of this categorical defence of civil liberties and condemnation of racial prejudice as contrary to the spirit of the gospel, the Catholic Church certainly did not endorse a call for a national convention to draft a non-racial constitution.

During these years the focus of the S.A.C.B.C. statements was on racial discrimination, which was seen as the primary determinant of the conflict. This viewpoint played the ideological role of obscuring the economically exploitative nature of the South African social formation. It also served to legitimate the liberal argument that race prejudice was irrational and that there was an inherent conflict between the economy and the policies of apartheid. The S.A.C.B.C. hoped for incremental changes that would gradually erode the racial divisions of South African society.

Arrests, detentions and bannings continued during 1963 and 1964, culminating in the arrest and trial of several members of the high command of Umkhonto we Sizwe, including Nelson Mandela, Govan Mbeki and Walter Sisulu. In 1964, 1 604 people were convicted of offences relating to the security of the state. Many went into exile. The A.N.C. established an external mission.

During this period the S.A.C.B.C. reiterated its position on 'Race Relations' as set out in previous statements. The Conference further commented, somewhat obliquely, that, "the Conference recognizes the complex situation in South Africa. The Bishops are concerned that law and order should be maintained, that justice should be done to all groups and all persons, and that a spirit of charity should animate all relationships" (S.A.C.B.C., 1964 : 41). The S.A.C.B.C. saw the regulation of conflict as crucially important. The causes of and the conditions necessary for the resolution of conflict were not addressed.

The Bantu Laws Amendment Bill of 1964 was designed to limit the movement of blacks from the 'Bantustans' to white areas. It extended the laws relating to 'influx control', gave the government powers to restrict the movement of blacks and was a key law in the implementation of the apartheid policy (Prior, 1982 : 199). In response to this bill, the S.A.C.B.C. released a statement to the Press, "The Bill, as a whole, is an invasion of primary human rights and the minor concessions it contains are deprived of any real value by the dead weight of restrictions under which they are buried. The Bill is a negation of social morality and Christian thinking, striking, as it does, at the basic Christian institution, the family, through its inflexible restriction of the individual" (S.A.C.B.C., 1964 : 42). The Church felt very strongly about defending the rights of the family. Nevertheless the Bill became the Bantu Laws Amendment Act no.42 of 1964.

In July 1966 some months after the conclusion of the Second Vatican Council, the S.A.C.B.C. issued another Pastoral Letter. The intention of the letter was the application of the message and insights of the Council, particularly 'Gaudium et Spes' - The Pastoral Constitution of the Church in the Modern World, to the South African situation (Verryn in Prior, 1982 : 60-61). The letter reiterated the Bishops' earlier condemnation of the migratory labour system which also severely compromised the sanctity of family life. Sectional rule for the benefit of the minority was criticised. "It is a grave violation of the dignity of the human person to prevent anyone on grounds of race or nationality, from choosing his own mode of living; to restrict his choice of employment, his right of free movement, his place of residence, his free establishment of a family. If any laws make the exercise of these rights unnecessarily difficult or almost impossible, all legal means should be used to have them changed" (S.A.C.B.C., 1966 : 47). "This Plenary Session finds it necessary to reiterate the vigorous condemnation of the Vatican Council:

'Discrimination is to be eradicated as contrary to God's intent'" (S.A.C.B.C., 1966 : 49).

The letter also focused on the issues of wealth and poverty, the interdependence of the members of society, the natural right of free association, the violation of human rights, discrimination, the need for unity between peoples and the meaning of patriotism. It urged the re-examination of the whole question of racial relationships. It reminded "those who govern us" that God is the source of all authority. All these issues had featured in the documents of the Vatican Council. The realities of apartheid South Africa were completely at odds with the message and spirit of Vatican II and the S.A.C.B.C. was aware of the contradictions. Vatican II had declared that such issues were the concern of the Church and that the Church was responsible for public morality.

The bishops' letter quoted Pope John XXIII's encyclical 'Peace on Earth' (Pacem in Terris) regarding relations between individuals and the public authorities. "The very nature of the common good requires that all members of the political community be entitled to share in it, although in different ways according to each one's tasks, merits and circumstances. For this reason, every civil authority must take pains to promote the common good of all, without preference of any single citizen or civic group. As our predecessor of immortal memory, Leo XIII, has said: 'The civil power must not serve the advantage of any one individual, or of some few persons, inasmuch as it was established for the common good of all ...' If any government does not acknowledge the rights of man or violates them, it not only fails in its duty, but its orders completely lack juridical force" (S.A.C.B.C., 1966 : 50). In this post Vatican II pastoral letter there was a shift in emphasis from the complexity of the South African situation to the injustice of it and the need for these injustices to be redressed.

In January 1967 Pope Paul VI, in accordance with the recommendations of 'Gaudium et Spes' announced the formation of the Pontifical Commission for Justice and Peace. The document declared that "In view of the immense hardships which still afflict the majority of people today, the Council regards it as most opportune that some agency of the universal Church be set up for the world wide promotion of justice for the poor and of Christ's kind of love for them. The role of such an organization will be to stimulate the Catholic community to foster progress in needy regions and social justice on the international scene" ('Gaudium et Spes', 1966 : Paragraph 90). Many dioceses around the world subsequently established Justice and Peace Commissions to serve these ends, but some years were to pass before such a commission was established in the Southern African region. However, the S.A.C.B.C. did institute a full-time department devoted to Justice and Reconciliation. The mandate of this department was to serve as a link between the bishops' conference and other groupings devoted to the social apostolate. The department was to establish and maintain contact with other such endeavours in other Churches and with the South African Council of Churches (S.A.C.C.) (Verryn in Prior, 1982 : 61). In keeping with the teachings of Vatican II the South African Catholic Church was developing a more ecumenical consciousness and establishing contact with other churches.

During the S.A.C.B.C. Plenary Session of July 1971, the bishops released a statement "On the Restriction of Civil Liberties". The statement drew attention to the 1960 pastoral letter and reaffirmed "the right and duty of persons and communities to investigate, make public and combat grave injustices in society A society's laws cannot be divorced from moral considerations, in particular considerations of justice. Therefore the Church has a special obligation to comment on the moral aspects of laws and their application" (S.A.C.B.C., 1971 : 8). The statement formally protested the

restriction of civil liberties without reference to the due process of the law. It repudiated the indiscriminate presumption that those subjected to house arrest, banning, detention, deportation and other restrictions were furthering the aims of communism. It pointed out that the actions of the state were subject always to the rights and freedoms of all people.

Although Church opposition to the official government policies is clear in the above described statements, they are, however, reformist in nature, advocating the pursuance of all possible reforms within the existing political dispensation. The S.A.C.B.C. statements of the 1950's and 1960's asserted the right of the Church to comment on political events. However, these comments and protests were addressed to those in authority and to whites in general. The letters and statements were tentative and conciliatory in tone. They reflected an understanding of the South African situation based on race but the content of these statements revealed little understanding of the machinations of the policy of 'separate development'. Any awareness of the opposition to apartheid by the oppressed and disenfranchised appeared negligible. There was no mention of any extra-parliamentary groupings involved in the anti-apartheid struggle, of the Defiance Campaign or of the State of Emergency which followed the Sharpeville massacre. Furthermore, the statements posited few alternatives. The bishops counselled patience and urged an evolutionary approach and the gradual introduction of a qualified franchise. They felt that both the cause and the solution to the problem lay in the white electorate and whites must be convinced that there was a middle way between the absolute alternatives posed by the ruling Nationalist party - race suicide or apartheid. Although the statements abhorred legislated racial discrimination and asserted the principles of multi-racialism and human dignity, they remained within the framework of white domination - however benevolent. The perspective of the Church was clearly limited and the formal protests of the bishops lacked

focus. Migrant labour, group areas and the consequent undermining of family life were notable exceptions for, as in the case of the Bantu Education Act and the prohibition of mixed marriages, the proscriptions of apartheid actively impinged on the life of the Church and the practice of the faith. The Catholic bishops hoped and prayed for a 'change of heart' on behalf of the government and of the white electorate. As a later Church document noted, "Like other Christian leaders in South Africa, the bishops of the Catholic Church were inclined to place too much faith in the power of declarations to move hearts" (S.A.C.B.C., 1984 : 58).

During this period, and especially prior to the publication of 'Unitatis redintegratio', the Decree on Ecumenism, by the Second Vatican Council, the Catholic Church had little contact with other Churches. The Decree on Ecumenism encouraged tentative contact with non-Catholics. However, in the main, Catholic statements on apartheid during this period were marked by sectarianism. For the Catholic Church and the other Christian Churches this "was a time of protest but not of resistance" (Villa-Vicencio, 1988 : 93-126). There was little substance to these protests and the Church continued to hope and pray for reconciliation.

The 1960's were years of immense significance for the Catholic Church internationally. This was the crucial time of the 'aggiornamento' or renewal of Vatican II which had far-reaching implications for the local Church everywhere (Hebblethwaite, 1985: Schoof, 1970). Vatican II and its significance was discussed in greater depth in Chapter 3.

The Vatican Council also facilitated the establishment of national councils of laity and of priests charged with the responsibility of considering in a new way the application of Catholic morality to public life (Verryn in Prior, 1982 : 60). (6)

The 1972 "Call to Conscience addressed to Catholics in Southern Africa" marked the beginning of a shift away from the tone and content of the earlier documents. It showed the influence of radical concepts in the relationship between religion and politics introduced to the Second Vatican Council by Latin American theologians. Instead of listing contraventions of human rights, as was previously the case, it now included discussion of the need to redistribute wealth, of the de-humanising and alienating effects of South African legislation and of the Church's responsibility towards the poor and oppressed. Recommendations were made concerning trade union rights, a minimum wage and other welfare services. It also made a strong statement of solidarity with the victims of oppressive political legislation (Prior, 1982 : 181). It pointed out the difference "between party political action and the concern for justice in human relations which the Church must promote under any political system" (S.A.C.B.C., 1972 : 2). It continued that "we must show that the Church is not content to exist in a state of privileged protection but rather, like Christ, it has a special commitment to the poor, the outcast, the oppressed and the unfortunate" (S.A.C.B.C., 1972 : 2). The address concluded that "The problem of South Africa has many dimensions and many faces. It runs through our history and threatens our future. The record shows that we have failed to cope with racialism and reduce discrimination. But a bold and sustained effort is not yet beyond us even at this stage. While the evil exists no one may rest. The greatest of all would be to disregard its existence We must welcome the efforts of other Churches and organizations and work with them as far as we can" (S.A.C.B.C., 1972 : 15). Ds. Beyers Naude remarked that the document was "the most significant statement from official church leadership on the racial issue" (Abraham, 1989:130). The statement was particularly significant in that it was a clear call for action and contact with other organizations and

groupings concerned with social justice. It also contained an important note of self criticism.

The statement suggested a greater openness on behalf of the Roman Catholic Church to other Church groupings as well as an appreciation of their efforts against injustice and discrimination. During the years following Vatican II the Catholic Church developed its relationship with the English-speaking Churches to a marked extent and became an observer member of the South African Council of Churches (S.A.C.C.).

In September 1968 the Theological Commission of the S.A.C.C. issued a theological critique of apartheid entitled "The Message to the People of South Africa". The 'message' provided the incentive for the 'Study Project on Christianity in Apartheid Society' (SPRO-CAS) to establish commissions with the aim of preparing comprehensive reports setting out the implications of the 'message' for national life.(7) The areas under consideration were economics, education, law, politics, society and the church (Randall, 1972 : 2). The Church Commission reflected a wide range of denominational affiliations, but was composed predominately of white ministers and theologians. The report acknowledged this sectionalism and stated its commitment to non-racialism. It further noted the overwhelming black membership of the churches. The preface stated that "our report is critical both of the church and of the norms of the South African society which influence it. The church by its very nature as the servant of the Word of God is called to examine critically all human ideologies and societies in the light of the gospel. Yet it has long compromised its role as prophet and critic in South Africa. We are judged by the very gospel which judges society. By the standard of the gospel we find ourselves a Church whose performance has in no way matched what should be expected of it. Called to hope, we too often live as though without hope" (Randall, 1972 : 4). The Church Commission found that the church reflects

the basic patterns of discrimination and inequality of the broader society (Randall, 1973 : 81). The social relations within the Church echoed those of the broader society. It was time for the Church to question white domination in its entirety. It was no longer to be 'anti-apartheid'. It was time for affirmative action. Anything less was hypocritical.

The SPRO-CAS report examined the direct effects of apartheid on the life and practice of the church. It listed external legislative controls including restrictions on freedom of movement and residence; on freedom of worship; on freedom of speech and publications; on freedom of association; on the provision of service and welfare; on the ownership of property and the administration of church institutions and schools. All these restrictions and regulations impinged on the practice of the church to its detriment (Randall, 1972 : 6-17). In addition to these external pressures, the report argued that apartheid also generated internal and psychological pressures within the church. These included the ideological captivity of fear (racial fear; fear of failure; of controversy; of ostracism and isolation; of the loss of identity and of those in authority); prejudice; despair; conformism; legalism; authoritarianism and an emphasis on theory or words rather than action (Randall, 1972 : 18-25). The Christian Churches in apartheid South Africa were characterized by disunity, discrimination and paternalism.

The report of the Spro-cas Church commission is significant because it made clear the ubiquitous nature of apartheid and the extent to which it had come to pervade the theology, institutions and procedures of the churches. The report also stressed the culpability of the churches. It made general and specific recommendations which the various churches might undertake to remedy the situation and combat both the effects and practice of apartheid in their institutional structure and life. The report also stressed that the church was in a unique position to promote inter-racial contact, communication and

dialogue. The church was seen as a potentially major agency for social change. Spro-cas was an important event in the self-awareness of the Christian Churches. It provided both an analysis of the social role played by the churches and suggested a programme of action.

The only formal response from the Catholic leadership to the report came from Cardinal Mc Cann, who wrote that he was referring it to the Administrative Board of the S.A.C.B.C. (Randall, 1973 : 157). However, the Southern Cross gave the report comprehensive coverage and commented "We Catholics who have our own history of pronouncements condemning racial prejudices and discrimination, at the same time should observe the credibility gap in our actual practice... 'Apartheid and the Church' can help us face up to the credibility gap and to see some practical steps towards a sincere Christian life. We need to take seriously the point that heresy in action needs to be clearly denounced as heresy in doctrine. The churches.... should be persuaded to draw up confessions of faith... which state clearly their position on the racial issue, if possible...together " (Southern Cross 16 August 1972).

The ecumenical movement was not the only challenge to the Catholic Church in South Africa during this time. A vital challenge came from within. John XXIII had said to the bishops of Africa when he received them in audience during the Vatican Council "The Church in Africa will be African or nothing" (Quoted by Mushete in Concilium, 1987 : 53). Vatican II had emphasized the importance of the local Church. The eurocentrism of the Church in Africa was challenged. A similar challenge came from within the South African Catholic Church.

During the late 1960's and early 1970's the sharpest critique of the South African Catholic Church came from black priests (de Gruchy, 1982 : 99). The Black Consciousness movement had a profound effect on the black clergy. Black priests began to question the ability of the almost exclusively white

leaders of a predominately black Church to adequately represent their interests. Also at the beginning of the 1970's a new theology found expression in Black Christian circles in South Africa. This 'Black Theology' was an ideological response to the contribution of the Christian Church to racial domination. Black Consciousness and Black Theology consciously exposed and challenged white domination in the Church. The Church was confronted with the issue of how to preach and live the message of the gospel in a society of structured inequality. Furthermore, attention was drawn to the role of the Church in the perpetuation of this inequality. Finally, it was asked, how could the Christian faith which had reached large sections of the oppressed, act as a positive force and contribute to the building of an alternative society?

In a document entitled "Questions we are Asking" signed by four black Catholic priests, Fathers J. Nkosi, L. Mokoena, P. Lephaka and S. Mkhathshwa, attention was drawn to the "disturbing gap between the Church's doctrine about social justice on the one hand and much in its internal structures on the other. Our questions revolve around many imbalances and injustices in society as a whole which have penetrated into the Christian Church". The document listed 12 example situations which compromise the witness of the Church:

1. "The low and sometimes excessively low wages paid by some clergy and Church institutions.
2. The paying of different wages to white and black for the same work and competence. Equal pay for equal work has now become an axiom not only with black leaders but in many white trade unions and industries.
3. The channelling of so much money into ecclesiastical institutions when so many people are starving or struggling for existence.
4. The enormous difference in standards of Church buildings for black and white in schools, prestige halls, extremely expensive Churches for whites, while some people do not even have a decent place in which to worship.

5. The bad working conditions and standards of quarters offered to blacks by many clergy and religious.
6. The large farms owned by the Church while the land issue in this country has become so controversial a matter.
7. The way Church institutions use and accommodate themselves to the migratory labour system.
8. The differential reception offered to black and white at some presbyteries and convents, and the continued use by clergy and religious of the disrespectful terms "Boy" and "Girl" for adults.
9. The disproportionate numbers of Church personnel at the service of whites.
10. Failure to consider and consult more independent black opinion in the Church in the machinery of decision making and in higher Church appointments, especially where these involve blacks.
11. The manner in which black priests and nuns appear to be relegated to a secondary position in the Church, with little opportunity of playing a meaningful role in its general policy, and the disparity in their standard of living in many cases.
12. the poverty of parishes and institutions taken over by blacks from whites when the latter move out and funds from overseas cease to come in"

(S.A.C.B.C., 1974 : 5-6).

Many of these criticisms echoed those of the SPRO-CAS report on 'Apartheid and the Church'. All these points severely compromised the anti-apartheid rhetoric of the Church - they pointed to the practice of apartheid in the Church itself. The anti-apartheid rhetoric of the Catholic Church was still in need of substance.

In conclusion the document urged the Church to facilitate contact between blacks and whites and the signatories reminded the Church of the relevance of Black Consciousness. "Finally, if the Church wishes to retain the loyalty of

many blacks, she must welcome and inspire the phenomenon of Black Consciousness. This quest of the black people for their humanity appears to be here to stay, and the Church cannot afford to appear to be against it or ignore it. The whole witness of the Church in the field of human rights will only be credible when the black people see the Church rising above the present socio-political situation and providing some models of alternative life styles" (S.A.C.B.C., 1974 : 7-8). The credibility of the Church was at stake.

De Gruchy remarks that in some respects, black Catholic priests have taken a more militant stand within their Church than is true in most other denominations. He continues that this has resulted in considerable tension within the Church and has led in some instances to confrontation with Church authorities (de Gruchy, 1982 : 99; Abraham, 1989 : 131-133). An exclusively black priests' association was formed in 1973 called the 'Black Priests' Solidarity Group'. Black Consciousness became part of the experience of the Catholic Church.

Black Consciousness seriously challenged the tendency on behalf of the S.A.C.B.C. and white Catholics to see Blacks as objects rather than as subjects and equals. It also shattered the myth of the 'unity' of the Church by focusing on the divisions within the Church and the society. These divisions could not be ignored any longer. White hegemony within the Church was challenged. The message was that racial discrimination within the Church must be redressed, if the unity of the Church was to be realized.

Another important statement on 'Black Consciousness' was published by Bishop Peter Buthelezi, O.M.I., then auxiliary Bishop of Johannesburg. Bishop Buthelezi was the first black priest to be consecrated a bishop in South Africa. The statement attempted to "answer the scruples some people have about the Black Consciousness movement being Christian". (It seems likely that

the 'some people' mentioned are those white Catholics made nervous by Black militancy and that the statement is an attempt to convince them of the righteousness of Black Consciousness). The statement defended the relevance of Black Consciousness and asserted that "If Black Consciousness were to be exclusive and deny the humanity of the white man, or if it taught hatred, then it would be wrong. But if it defends all humanity in defending the most misused of humanity, intends to allow everyone his rights, and only works in separation to re-establish those who have been most disinherited, then it may be doing a service to God and all men" (S.A.C.B.C., 1974 : 1-3).

During the 1970's there was an upsurge of popular struggles and organized resistance to apartheid and racial exploitation. However, few pastoral letters were issued by the S.A.C.B.C. during this period. Most of the Church's comments on social justice were in the form of statements made in response to particular problems or issues. It would therefore be inaccurate to accord to these statements the same weight as to a pastoral letter.

Pastoral letters are generally prepared and issued by the entire conference of the Bishops gathered in Plenary Session. It was, however, during these years that a number of encyclicals and letters were issued by the Vatican on social justice. (See list of Vatican documents in Bibliography). The reflections of the Latin American Bishops Conference at Medellin were also circulating. Unfortunately these documents have been fairly inaccessible to the average Catholic being couched as they are in academic and theological language and terminology. Also these documents and the S.A.C.B.C.'s pastoral letters and statements have seldom been translated into any language other than English. English is not the mother tongue of most South African Catholics (S.A.C.B.C., 1980 : 5).

It is also important to note that the racial integration of Church institutions

and the condemnation of apartheid policies were not the only preoccupations of the Church during these years. Matters of private morality remained of deep concern to the Church. The extremely controversial encyclical on birth control, 'Humanae Vitae', had been issued in 1968. It is common cause that the rigid injunctions of 'Humanae Vitae' regarding artificial contraception were unexpected and, in the light of Vatican II, surprising (O'Brien and Shannon, 1977; Butler, 1981). The encyclical seemed anomalous with the spirit and emphasis of the council. The teachings of this encyclical categorically forbade Catholics to use any unnatural contraceptive measures. 'Humanae Vitae' served to emphasize the importance attached by the Church to matters of private morality and particularly to sexual morality. The theological and social significance of 'Humanae Vitae' is complex and cannot be discussed in detail here. However, it should be observed that in the face of the realities and sufferings of the modern world the encyclical accorded disproportionate weight to one aspect of morality. The Church hierarchy and clergy were obliged to promote the teachings of the encyclical. It would not be an exaggeration to suggest that this distracted attention from other more concrete violations of family rights. There is also the implication that private morality is more important than public or social morality and that individual sin is more sinful than social sin. The message of the Church was not clear. The juxtaposition of 'Humanae Vitae' and the system of migratory labour, for example, underlines the very real tension in the Church between private and public morality, between the salvation of souls and the liberation of the oppressed.

The S.A.C.B.C. issued a Pastoral Directive on Family Planning in 1974. Two statements on abortion were also made in 1972 and 1974. The situation of migratory labour was addressed once again during the 1976 plenary session. "The evils of the system have even been admitted by Government spokesmen. It is known to cause the break-up of family life, failure in the formation of growing

children, loneliness of separated husbands and wives and fatherless families, widespread infidelity and homo-sexual practice, hindrance to the stabilization and organisation of labour, outbursts of violence among unsettled people, and similar evils. How far can we participate in or profit by such a system?" (S.A.C.B.C., 1976 : 2).

The document called on employers to examine the situation of their workers and consider ways of mitigating the 'evil' of the system. Advice was also given to migrants. "Knowing that migratory labour is the only possible means of subsistence for so many we can only offer them such advice as this. Some do undoubtedly take advantage of the system to escape immediate family responsibility. Others use it more than necessary, taking work away from home longer than necessary. They may make mistakes here for the highest motives, such as saving to get their children the best school education. They may forget that such education can be made up later, by evening school and such means, but nothing can ever again take the place of the presence of both parents in the formative years of children and their united loving influence. Relative poverty in a truly united family may be a far greater blessing than more money in one which is not so united. If employers generously assist by means such as we have suggested above, workers should give an equally generous energy to their work" (S.A.C.B.C., 1976 : 4).

However well intended such advice was naive and unrealistic. It showed a lack of analysis of apartheid processes and of the alternatives open to migrant workers and residents of the homelands. There was no mention of the homeland system and influx control which are complementary aspects of the migrant labour system. Again the interests of the family system and private/personal morality were seen as crucial and little attention was paid to the economically exploitative nature of this form of labour.

Also, as Fr Finbar Synnott, secretary of the Justice and Reconciliation Department of the S.A.C.B.C., noted in his annual report a year later most white Catholics and many clergy and religious had been apathetic in their response to the call to do something about migrant labour (Verryn in Prior, 1982 : 62). This apathy was not addressed by the Church and this failure undermined the importance of the issue. The impact of the S.A.C.B.C. statement on both clergy and laity was questionable and its impact on the system of migrant labour negligible.

The migrant labour statement was in keeping with the Bishops' advocacy of a policy of reconciliation. Reconciliation was the dominant theme of the S.A.C.B.C. statements and letters of the pre-June 1976 period - reconciliation between black and white, Catholic and protestant, employers and employees. Peace would come through reconciliation and the healing of all divisions in society. A policy of dialogue was promoted strongly. (For example - Pastoral Letter on Reconciliation, S.A.C.B.C., 1975 and the Joint Pastoral Letter of Catholic and Anglican Bishops, S.A.C.B.C., 1975). Reconciliation would preserve and reinforce the unity of the Church in a divided society. Although Vatican II had proposed the setting up of 'Justice and Peace' commissions in all dioceses such groups were called 'Justice and Reconciliation' commissions in most South African dioceses. This is indicative of the strong emphasis on reconciliation.

The Catholic Schools had continued to be a contentious issue. These schools were racially segregated.(9) At the beginning of 1976 the S.A.C.B.C. adopted a resolution in favour of 'open schools' and decided in principle to integrate its schools. This effectively meant that white private fee-supported schools would admit children who were not classified white. Such action was illegal and violated various pieces of apartheid legislation, including the Bantu Urban Areas Consolidation Act, the Group Areas Act and the Bantu Education Act. The government threatened to withdraw the registration of those schools

intending to admit blacks. Despite the warning the schools went ahead. The government then threatened to close these schools unless the black pupils were removed. The Catholic school authorities refused to compromise. The government retreated and introduced a permit system in an attempt to restrict to a minimum the number of admissions of black pupils to schools that had been exclusively white. The schools continued to admit black pupils without permits in open defiance of the law. Catholic private schools were soon racially integrated. Ironically the government was now subsidising the very schools that it had threatened to close. The government education authorities were forced to back down and accept the situation.

This was the second confrontation between the Catholic Church and the state regarding the issue of education but there was an important difference between the defiance of the 1950's and that of the 1970's. During the 1950's the Church had opposed the Bantu Education Act because it impinged on the autonomy of the Church and on the provision of a Catholic education to Catholic children. The defiance of the 1970's was focused on segregated education. Effectively however, white Catholic private schools were opened only to the children of the black middle classes and foreign diplomats. The 'Open Schools' were an important symbolic gesture but did little to challenge or undermine the apartheid system and in the South Africa of 1976 had little real relevance (S.A.C.B.C., 1984 : 58-59; Flannagan in Prior, 1982 : 83-96). But the process of school desegregation had begun and the hegemony of apartheid education was challenged - albeit in a limited sense.

In 1976 the black students of the townships of South Africa protested the system of inferior, segregated 'Bantu Education' and paid dearly. They demanded equal education for all and open Catholic schools, although asserting this right in principle, had little practical consequences for the vast mass of black youth trapped in Verwoerdian schools.

The Catholic bishops' hopes for reconciliation were seriously challenged by the events of 1976 and 1977. The popular uprising of June 1976 was the catalyst for the escalation of the struggle for a democratic South Africa. The entire system of racial exploitation and oppression had been challenged. Apartheid South Africa experienced the most severe crisis since Sharpeville. There was a need for affirmative action.

February 1977 saw three statements by the S.A.C.B.C., namely the 'Statement on the Current Situation and Citizen Rights of Blacks'; the 'Declaration of Commitment on Social Justice and Race Relations within the Church'; and the 'Statement on Conscientious Objection'. In these post 1976 statements the Bishops made their strongest judgement yet on the political situation. The majority of black South Africans were seen not merely as poor but as 'oppressed' and the gospel as a means of 'human liberation'. The government's law enforcement methods were criticized and the ideas of black consciousness were supported (Prior, 1982 : 186). "We again profess our conviction, so often repeated, that the only solution of our racial tensions consists in conceding full citizen and human rights to all persons in the Republic, not by choice on the false grounds of colour, but on the grounds of the common humanity of all men, taught by our Lord Jesus Christ It is clear that the black people of the Republic have passed the point of no return, and no temporary suppression by violence, only a just sharing of citizenship, can give hope of any safety for the children, Black and White, now growing up in the Republic and prevent the horrors of civil war in the future" (1977 : 2). The S.A.C.B.C. also committed itself to a programme of witness to the Gospel in matters of social justice.

The Bishops were aware of the escalation of the guerilla war on South Africa's borders and of the crisis of conscience facing many young white Catholics who were reluctant to fight in defence of a system they regarded as unjust. The

S.A.C.B.C. 'Statement on Conscientious Objection' urged that these conscripts be accorded rights of non-participation in the war effort. The statement asserted that "in this matter of conscientious objection we defend the right of every individual to follow his own conscience, the right therefore to conscientious objection both on the grounds of universal pacifism and on the grounds that he seriously believes the war to be unjust. In this, as in every other matter, the individual is obliged to make a moral judgement in terms of the facts at his disposal after trying to ascertain these facts the best of his ability. While we recognize that the conscientious objector will have to suffer the consequences of his own decision and the penalties imposed by the State, we uphold his right to do this and we urge the State to make provision for alternative forms of non-military national service as is done in other countries in the world" (S.A.C.B.C., 1977 :7). The statement received much publicity in both the commercial and Catholic press.

The Roman Catholic Church became the second major denomination to declare its support for the right of individuals to object to military service on the basis of conscience. The C.P.S.A. had done so in 1976. The S.A.C.B.C. statement was subsequently endorsed by the C.P.S.A., the Methodist and United Congregational Churches. These Churches played a significant role in creating an awareness of the role played by compulsory military service in the defence of apartheid and in the destabilization of neighbouring countries. During the 1970's the issue of conscientious objection was a major area of conflict between Church and State (Law, Lund, Winkler in Villa-Vicencio, 1987 : 281-297).

Shortly after the release of the 1974 S.A.C.C. resolution supporting the right to conscientiously object, Archbishop Hurley expressed the view "that the people of South Africa should avoid at all costs getting involved in a border war and that there should be conscientious objection to getting involved in such a war". He continued that his view would be summed up in four brief

statements and a conclusion:

1. "If South Africa becomes involved in a border war, this war will have been provoked by the policy of apartheid.
2. To defend white South Africa by force of arms is to defend the policy of apartheid.
3. To defend apartheid is to defend an unjust cause.
4. It is not permissible for Christians to fight an unjust war".

He concluded that "Unless we can claim that a strenuous effort has been made to reach understanding between Blacks and Whites, including liberation movements, conscientious objection seems the only possible Christian stand" (Sunday Tribune, 16 September, 1974).

Hurley's remarks drew clear links between the S.A.D.F., apartheid and christian morality. The 1977 S.A.C.B.C. statement was far more tentative. It focused on the rights of conscientious objectors to exercise conscience, rather than on the need for or appropriateness of conscientious objection in the face of the realities of South African society.

The conscientious objection issue raised several points which dominated debate within the Church during the ensuing ten years. These included military chaplaincy, support for liberation movements such as S.W.A.P.O. and the A.N.C., alternative national service, the requirements for a just war and the conditions necessary for a just peace. The question of conscientious objection and the controversy which it generated starkly illustrated divisions within the Church and mirrored the conflict in the broader society. There was a growing awareness that there were Catholics on both sides of this conflict and that the Church was called upon to minister to both. However, the nature of this ministry was unclear and posed a considerable dilemma for the Church.

The S.A.C.B.C.'s 'Report on Namibia' in 1982, was an attempt to grapple with

some of these issues. At the time of publication it was the most radical and controversial S.A.C.B.C. statement to date. It concerned the conflict in Namibia between S.W.A.P.O. and the S.A.D.F. It was issued against a background of increasing militarization and was subsequently banned for distribution. The report reflected a new willingness on the part of the Bishops to speak directly of political matters, often to the point where they strongly dissociated themselves from the policies of the South African government in Namibia (Prior, 1982 : 190). The document accused the S.A.D.F. of atrocities against the civilian population and stated that the South African forces were regarded as an occupying army. It found that both morally and legally South Africa's continued presence in the area was not justifiable. It reported that S.W.A.P.O. would inevitably win a free and fair election and that this would be accepted with equanimity by the Christian community. It questioned the South African government's accusation that S.W.A.P.O. was 'Marxist' or 'Communist' inspired (S.A.C.B.C., 1982).

The Report concluded with an appeal for understanding and called "upon all who are believers in God to engage in fervent prayer for this intention; for a rapid achievement of a cease-fire, putting an end to the killing and suffering; for the withdrawal of South Africa from a situation of violence that appears totally unacceptable to us; and for the establishment of a state of peace and reconciliation in which Namibia can achieve its independence and with the help of friendly states, including please God South Africa, can take its rightful place among the free nations of the world" (S.A.C.B.C., 1982 : 37). The 14 November 1982 was declared Namibia prayer day by the Catholic Church in Southern Africa.

Archbishop Hurley, then president of the S.A.C.B.C., was accused of being a political rather than a church leader by a small group of conservative Catholics represented by the Catholic Defence League. (This grouping is discussed in

Chapter Five). Cardinal McCann responded to this attempt to isolate Archbishop Hurley by confirming that the report had been published in the name of the entire S.A.C.B.C. Cardinal McCann asserted that the Catholic Defence League was a very small grouping and had no official standing in the Church, while Archbishop Hurley's involvement in matters of social justice was in accordance with the social teaching of the Church (Rand Daily Mail, 3 June 1982). (10)

However, the statement which had the most far reaching consequences for the organization and pastoral practice of the Catholic Church in South Africa was the 1977 'Declaration of Commitment, on Social Justice and Race Relations within the Church'. The S.A.C.B.C. stated that although the policy of opening Catholic schools to all pupils regardless of race was encouraging, the Catholic Church was "lagging behind in witness to the Gospel in matters of social justice" (S.A.C.B.C., 1977 : 2). The S.A.C.B.C. therefore committed the Church to a programme which discouraged racism and promoted non-racialism and social justice in Church structures and institutions.

The statement focused on five main areas, namely, social attitudes and customs; the sharing of responsibility; the promotion of social justice, liberation and development; finances and the feasibility of a pastoral consultation. The 'Statement on Commitment' was a conscious attempt on the part of the Church to re-evaluate its structures and way of functioning, promote racial integration and redistribute both the financial resources and personnel of the Church. There was a greater emphasis on the role of the laity and the centrality of the social apostolate to Christian witness. Ecumenism was encouraged. The establishment of more diocesan Justice and Reconciliation Commissions was urged and the Church undertook to "be mindful of the Church's duty to minister to Christ where he most suffers in society and therefore to make more strenuous efforts to direct special attention to the growing numbers of unemployed, to industrial workers in general and

migrant workers in particular, to worker organisations, to the thousands of squatters living on the periphery of large cities, to political prisoners, detainees, banned people and their dependants, and to other distressed and displaced groups discovered; and to provide as far as possible for the care of these groups and the creation of communities among them by specially appointed priests, religious and lay workers" (S.A.C.B.C., 1977 : 4).

It is clear from this statement that cognizance had been taken of the criticisms levelled at the Church by black priests. Many of the issues raised in 'Questions we are asking' were addressed in this statement. Furthermore, the challenge of the Black Consciousness Movement was acknowledged. The Church committed itself to giving practical expression to the conviction that the Church's mission and evangelical task includes work for complete human liberation as taught in the encyclical 'Evangelii Nuntiandi'. The statement continued that the Church must be "seen in solidarity with all those who work for the promotion of human dignity and the legitimate aspirations of oppressed people, on the side, therefore, of Black Consciousness, in regard both to those who promote it and those who suffer for it" (S.A.C.B.C., 1977 : 4).

Abraham notes that by the end of 1977 the Catholic Church had formally rid itself of racial discrimination within her own institutions, the need for such action having been recognized twenty years previously in the 1957 'Statement on Apartheid' (Abraham, 1989 : 133). (11) Racial segregation in the Roman Catholic Church was finally and practically repudiated.

The 1977 statement was evidence of a conscious attempt on behalf of the Church to disassociate itself from colonial and apartheid customs. There was a realization that the manifold resources of the Church must be placed at the disposal of the majority of the Church members who are black, poor and disenfranchised. There was a shift in emphasis from a white Church to a black

Church. Verryn observed that there was "less paternalism, more humility, a greater concern for and a deliberate identification with the oppressed and their demand for freedom" (Verryn in Prior, 1982 : 64). This was a period of transition for the Catholic Church in South Africa. The impact of Vatican II, the post conciliar social encyclicals and the Theology of Liberation was increasingly evident. Also the Church had been challenged by the experience and suffering of many of its members in apartheid society.

CONCLUSION

The first three decades of Nationalist rule met with a confused response from the Roman Catholic Church. During this period the Church was characterized by sectarianism and was acutely aware of its isolation in a Calvinist society. The hierarchy had recently been established and the Church was preoccupied with missionary evangelism. There was little questioning of the racism of colonialism. Control of both Church structures and resources was in the hands of the white, and predominately expatriot, clergy. The Roman Catholic Church reflected the historical division of colonial society and was certainly not a homogenous institution. The Church was heavily involved in various philanthropic endeavours - schools, hospitals, orphanages, feeding schemes. There was a general tendency to work for the poor rather than with the poor and the poor were for the greater part black. As pointed out in Chapter One Catholic missionary endeavour was remarkably successful and consequently the Church was rather complacent. In its own terms the Church in South Africa had been extremely successful. The advent of legislated apartheid therefore came as rather a shock. It soon became clear that the new laws were going to affect every aspect of life in South Africa and were not without consequences for the missionary work of the Church. Furthermore, the premises on which apartheid was based were contrary to the social teaching of the Church as enunciated in 'Rerum Novarum' and 'Quadragesimo Anno'. According to Catholic social teaching there are in society rights and corresponding obligations. The more privileged

members of society are morally obliged to help the less privileged members. Although such an outlook had elements of paternalistic philanthropy, it differed fundamentally from the policy of apartheid where rights of whites had no corresponding obligations and the less privileged members of society were systematically deprived of their rights. Moreover, the doctrine of apartheid was justified theologically by the N.G.K. Church. While segregation had, in many ways, been a feature of the Roman Catholic Church in South Africa, apartheid was anathema to the tradition and teaching of the Catholic Church.

Apartheid also interfered with the missionary and philanthropic work of the Church. Many missions were forced to close. While pre- Vatican II social teaching acknowledged that there were divisions in society but held that something had to be done to alleviate the suffering of the poor, apartheid legislation quite obviously made life more difficult for most members of society. The introduction and ruthless implementation of the policy jolted the Church out of its complacency. The S.A.C.B.C. voiced its dismay at the turn of events.

During the 1950's the the position of the Church hierarchy was politically moderate and corresponded with that of the official parliamentary opposition - the United Party. The S.A.C.B.C. argued that apartheid was not the only solution to the admittedly complex problems of this country and advocated a policy of incremental change. The Bantu Education Act directly encroached on the work of the Catholic Church. The Church was not prepared to allow this violation of its rights and took the steps it considered necessary to ensure the survival of the Catholic mission schools. As discussed earlier the Catholic Church adopted a sectarian approach and did not involve itself with the fate of other 'non-catholic' church schools - many of which were either handed over to the state or simply closed. The objective was the survival of the Catholic mission schools and this objective was achieved. This act of defiance had elements of

expediency.

Although demographic and socio-economic factors had always played an important role in determining where people worshipped (that is, predominately white congregations in white residential areas and predominately black congregations in black residential areas and on the mission stations) the 'Church Clause' of the Native Laws Amendment Bill was unacceptable to the Catholic Church. The state could not declare where Catholics could or could not worship. Also the bill compromised the very unity of the Church and constituted interference in religious affairs. The Catholic Church protested vehemently as did all the English Speaking Churches. It seemed that on matters pertaining particularly to the Church, the Catholic hierarchy was prepared to make a stand against apartheid policies. Furthermore, the Church had met with some success in opposing legislation that directly encroached on its areas of concern.

During the first decades of apartheid the Catholic Church critique of this policy was premised on its consequences for the Church and for the practice of the faith: for example the system of migrant labour and family life. The Church felt that the system of migrant labour made it extremely difficult for those affected to lead good Catholic lives. Gradually the Church developed an awareness that, although public issues have private consequences, pointing out the moral pitfalls of the system of migrant labour to migrant labourers was hardly addressing the issue in a society where the economy was based on this form of labour exploitation. The Church tended to address its entreaties to the privileged members of society and to those in power, reminding them of their obligations to the 'less fortunate' and of the right of the poor to charity. This approach was in keeping with pre- Vatican II social teaching.

During the 1960's the Roman Catholic Church was rocked by Vatican II and its injunction to the Church everywhere to enter into dialogue with the 'modern

world'. The impact of Vatican II on the South African Catholic Church must be understood in terms of the Church's hierarchical authority structures and its universalism. Vatican II asserted that public morality is the concern of the church, that ecumenism is to be embraced and that the modern world is not anathema but rather a reality that must be constructively addressed as this 'world' has much to offer. The Church was compelled to 'read the signs of the times'. Vatican II and the experience of nearly two decades of apartheid jolted the Church out of its sectarian complacency.

Throughout most of the first thirty years of apartheid rule the S.A.C.B.C. believed that South African society could be reformed and even the most impassioned of the bishops' denunciations of apartheid held out the hope that reform would lead to reconciliation and a more just society. Many Church statements made and solutions proposed during this period were implicitly racist in that they implied that whites should manage the necessary reforms.

During this period the Church tended to address the issue of racial discrimination in general rather than in specific terms. Slowly, the Church began to address the consequences of apartheid in more particular terms. Examples of this being the statements made regarding the issues of forced removals and migrant labour. However, the economic structure of white supremacy, which is maintained by such forms and measures of racial discrimination, **was** not questioned.

The Church gradually became aware that although it criticised the practice of apartheid in society in general, many apartheid practices permeated the everyday life of the Church itself. Racism was a feature of both the Church and of the society. Whites had the monopoly of the resources of the Church and of the management of these resources. The divisions of apartheid society were reflected in the Church. The Church recognised the need to transform its

structures and operating procedures to bring them more in line with its stated commitment to human rights. As long as 'apartheid' or racial discrimination existed within the Church, the Church was guilty of collusion with the racial discrimination practised in the society as a whole. The indictment contained in 'Questions We Are Asking' was very specific. Once the Church began to acknowledge its own guilt and complicity, an important step toward committed non-racialism and democracy had been taken. The Church's growing willingness both to acknowledge and cooperate with the efforts of other Christian Churches presaged a greater openness to society in general and to the efforts being made by a wide range of groupings to effect change in apartheid society. Catholic sectarianism was on the wane.

Although the Catholic Church had clearly voiced its opposition to apartheid it is important to look at the form of this opposition. Pastoral letters, statements and press releases were the chief mediums through which opposition was expressed. It is apparent from the discussion in this chapter that the Church was most likely to comment on the following aspects of apartheid: firstly, those aspects which directly affected the Churches' own concerns, for example, Catholic education and family rights; secondly, blatant violations and restrictions of civil liberties such as bannings, detentions and deportations, and thirdly, issues where the right of individual conscience, long promoted and defended by the Church, was compromised, for example, the right of conscientious objection.

The illusions and hopes of the liberal gradualists, which included the S.A.C.B.C., that apartheid would die a natural, albeit slow, death by the operation of the economic processes and incremental political and social reform had been manifestly crushed by the events and experiences of over thirty years of apartheid rule. The S.A.C.B.C.'s hopes for reconciliation had not been realized.

However, the Church which faced the difficult years of the 1980's was committed both to the reform of its own structures and practices and to the transformation of the broader society. The Catholic Church was challenging the hegemony of apartheid in both society and in the Church. While the Church still reflected many of the divisions and characteristics of apartheid society, it was gradually coming to reflect the character of resistance to apartheid that was also part of the South African social formation.

1

Examples were : the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act (1949), the Population Registration Act (1950), the Group Areas Act (1950), the Suppression of Communism Act (1950), the Bantu Authorities Act (1951), the Bantu Education Act (1953), the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act (1953), the Native Urban Areas Amendment Act (1955), the Native laws Amendment Act (1957), the Extension of University Education Act (1959), the Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Act(1959). The Public Safety Act and the Criminal Law Amendment Act enacted during the 1953 parliamentary session empowered the declaration of a state of emergency and listed heavy penalties for those who broke the law by way of political protest, including a three year prison sentence and/or flogging (Lodge, 1982 : 45). The United Party, the official opposition at this time, voted in favour of these measures.

2

De Gruchy writing in 1985 argues that the "Roomsegevaar was as much political as theological. For ecumenical and socio-political reasons this sense of a Catholic threat has subsided in recent years so that today Calvinists and Catholics on the left of the political spectrum find themselves arrayed against Calvinists and Catholics in alliance on the right" (de Gruchy in Villa-Vicencio and de Gruchy, 1985 : 91-92).

3

Marquard notes that the greatest area of disagreement between the Nationalist Party and the United Party during the 1950's was over the representation of Africans in parliament and the establishment of the Bantustans. The Nationalist Party held that Africans should not, under any circumstances, be represented in parliament while the United Party believed that they should, albeit to a very limited extent, on a separate roll, and by Europeans (Marquard, 1960:155).

4

Carter points out that the Seventh Day Adventists had never requested or received a government subsidy for their black schools. The Bantu Education Act therefore had fewer consequences for this church than for those who were recipients of government subsidies (Carter, 1957 : 107).

5

Sister L.M. McDonough in her study "The Contribution made by the Sisters of the Holy Cross to the History of Education in Southern Africa 1883-1980", writes of the dismay of the first Holy Cross Sisters in South Africa on learning that they were expected to open a school for the children of white soldiers and settlers in Umtata, instead of working as they had intended among the Africans. She quotes a letter from the Mother House in Europe to the disheartened Sisters "May you soon have the opportunity of doing something to attain the real goal of our Sisters in Umtata. Reverend Mother would never have sent Sisters to such a distant part of the world merely to teach the children of English colonists. To the poor Africans she sent you with all her heart" (McDonough, 1983 : 56-58). This anecdote is relevant in that it illustrates the conflicting priorities that have been a feature of the Catholic Church in South Africa since the beginning.

6

Kearney suggests that in retrospect and despite the clearly religious motivation the Bishops' Campaign to save the Catholic mission schools was a significant act of defiance of the Nationalist government and the Bantu Education Act. He continues that it was all the more significant given the

caution and conservatism that characterized the S.A.C.B.C. in those early days (Kearney in 'Guardian of the Light', 1989 : 61).

7

The South African Council of Catholic Laity (S.A.C.C.L.) and the South African Council of Priests (S.A.C.O.P.) respectively.

8

Spro-cas was sponsored by the S.A.C.C. and the Christian Institute. It thus had links with both the institutional Church and Christian groups working in specialized fields. The work of Spro-cas was seen as specialized and limited. It did not attempt to do the work of the Church but to assist the Church in a specific way. It sought a vision of what South African society could be if Christianity were taken seriously. It suggested ways in which churches, organizations, government departments and individuals could work towards such a society (Randall, 1973 : 206).

9

In July 1968 the Catholic Church decided, for financial reasons, to hand over a number of its black schools to the government. In 1973 a report on Catholic education showed that 70% of the Church's educational resources were being spent on white schools, even though they formed only 30% of the total number of Catholic schools. This unequal spending led the Church to consider the possibility of opening the white Catholic schools to black students (S.A.C.B.C., 1986).

10

In a matter arising from the 'Report on Namibia', Archbishop Hurley was charged for statements made at a press conference in February, 1984 concerning atrocities in Namibia by the para-military unit 'Koevoet'. The charge was that he had contravened the Police Act by alleging atrocities without having reasonable grounds for believing them to be true. He was the first archbishop to appear in court anywhere in the world for thirty-one years. The charges were later withdrawn (Star, 18 February, 1985). Subsequently, the Ministers of Law and Order and of Justice and the Attorney-General of the Transvaal agreed to pay the Archbishop R25 000 in settlement of a damages claim (Inter Nos, Vol 8 January/February, 1985; Cape Times, 3 March, 1987). The S.A.C.B.C. 'Report on Namibia' was also unbanned.

11

In February 1972 the S.A.C.B.C. undertook to study the possibility of integrating its two regional seminaries, St John Vianney's, Pretoria and St Peter's, Hammanskraal. In 1976 it was decided to proceed with the integration but the events of 1976 disrupted this process and full integration of the seminaries was only accomplished by 1980 (S.A.C.B.C., 1984 : 58).

CHAPTER 5

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH AND THE 'SIGNS OF THE TIMES' -REFORM, REPRESSION AND RESISTANCE IN THE 1980'S

"The time has come. The moment of truth has arrived. South Africa has been plunged into a crisis that is shaking the foundations It is the 'KAIROS' or moment of truth not only for apartheid but also for the Church ... We ... have been trying to understand the theological significance of this moment in our history. It is serious, very serious. For very many Christians in South Africa, this is the 'KAIROS', the moment of grace and opportunity, the favourable time in which God issues a challenge to decisive action. It is a dangerous time because, if this opportunity is missed, and allowed to pass by, the loss for the Church, for the Gospel and for all the people of South Africa will be immeasurable" (The Kairos Theologians, 1985 : 1).

"However much the fact pains us, it is useless to close our eyes to a reality that is confirmed in lacerating terms in Catholic and Protestant circles. Both are being split from top to bottom by a crisis that affects them not only in their purely religious doctrine but also in the moral, social and economic consequences of this doctrine. Such a crisis amounts to a tidal wave of Socialist and Communist thought penetrating religious milieus. This crisis seeks to distort the teaching and influence of Religion in the minds of the faithful as a means of bringing about the victory of Socialist or Communist egalitarianism. The "Theology of Liberation" is but an aspect of this crisis" (Young South Africans for a Christian Civilization T.F.P., 1987 : 37).

The late 1970's and early 1980's saw the economic and political consequences of decades of apartheid come to fruition. Consequently the apartheid state faced a sustained and deepening crisis of legitimation (S.A. review Vol. 3, 1986). The pace of crisis, conflict and change had increased dramatically. The 1980's were a period of reform, resistance and repression. An analysis of the role of the Roman Catholic Church during this time can be discussed in terms of these three related processes. This discussion will include a consideration of the response of the Church to various issues raised in the process of resistance to apartheid, for example, sanctions, political violence, the armed struggle, conscientious objection, the national liberation movement, and civil disobedience. The S.A.C.B.C.'s sponsorship of the 'New Nation' newspaper is discussed. The emergence of a Catholic rightwing is outlined. The relevance and role of the theological debate which has taken place in the South African Churches is considered. The past decade was one of crisis and flux. Apartheid hegemony was seriously challenged and undermined on all fronts. This chapter attempts to discern the role played by the Catholic Church in these events and the impact they had on the Church itself.

During the 1970's there was a decline in capital accumulation, an intensification of class struggle and an ideological conflict within the ruling political party. The resultant crisis, which was structural rather than cyclical, necessitated the restructuring of the political and economic relations of domination. The policy of reform was an attempt to adapt to these realities, reimpose stability and order, thus ensuring continued white domination (Saul and Gelb, 1981).

Concomitantly there was growing resistance to the system of apartheid. The period following Sharpeville and the outlawing of the A.N.C. was one of intensified repression of democratic activities and of any resistance to apartheid. Renewed opposition to apartheid was accelerated by events on the

labour front during the early 1970's. Workers were resisting at the point of production. Although these strikes were spontaneous, they were also organized and gave impetus to the formation of new independent African Trade Unions. This was followed by the 1976 uprisings and growth in the strength of the Black Consciousness Movement. Resistance was increasingly militant and organized. This period also saw the collapse of Portuguese colonialism in Angola and Mozambique, and the independence of Zimbabwe. S.W.A.P.O. stepped up its campaign against the occupation of Namibia by South Africa and the United Nations passed resolution No. 435.

The post 1976 period saw the rapid growth of the A.N.C. and an escalation of the guerrilla war of Umkhonto we Sizwe. The years following 1976 also saw the public re-emergence and growth of the non-racial democratic tradition of the 1950's. The blatant repression of the 1960's and early 1970's had failed to curb the rising tide of worker, student and community resistance to apartheid domination. Politically, economically and diplomatically the policy of apartheid was floundering. The state faced a crisis of legitimation.

This crisis confronting the South African state was profound. Saul and Gelb, using Gramsci's formulation, describe it as organic (Saul and Gelb, 1981). They argue that a crisis is organic when it is so embedded in the structure of the society that solutions involving a new balance of forces are demanded. "If a crisis is deep - organic - these efforts cannot be merely defensive. They will be formative. A new balance of forces, the emergence of new elements, the attempt to put together a new historical bloc, new political configurations and philosophies, a profound restructuring of the state and the ideological discourse which construct the crisis" (Saul and Gelb, 1981 : 3). Furthermore, Saul and Gelb emphasize that such a new dispensation does not simply emerge, but rather has to be constructed.

Restructuring through a policy of reform was mooted for the resolution of the crisis and the regulation and containment of social conflict (S.A. Review, Vol. 1, 1983 : 1-3). The policy of reform, dubbed 'Total Strategy', was described by General Magnus Malan as a "united and collective effort which includes diplomacy, politics, economics, industry, local authorities and the military. None can plan or implement its own plan independently. There must be co-ordination - a total mobilization of all resources" (Sunday Times, 13 February, 1977).

Saul and Gelb comment that the Western media, liberal capitalism and government propagandists sought to present reform as the opposite of the preservation of the 'status quo'. The implication was that 'reform' involved changes much more fundamental than was in fact the case. Reform was ambiguous. It must be understood as the result of various socio-political and economic crises which had forced the apartheid state to alter superficially the rules of oppression and exploitation while lending legitimacy to the prevailing political system. Thus reform was primarily a more sophisticated and, above all, formative defence of the 'status quo'.

Restructuring assumed a legal character and found expression in numerous pieces of legislation resulting from the recommendations of various commissions (for example, the Wiehahn, Riekert, Rabie, de Lange and Steyn commissions of inquiry). The recommendations of these commissions clearly illustrated that both reform and repression defined the 'total strategy' that was the state's response to the crisis. The small veneer of 'legality' contributed to both the legitimation and institutionalization of the two dimensions of 'total strategy' - reform and repression (W.I.P. No 23, 1982).

Reform creates the illusion of giving 'real' and 'meaningful' concessions while reinforcing the strategy of accommodation and co-option. When legality

proves to be unsuccessful, then the state retreats into brutality and uses repression. Reform and repression therefore must be understood as mutually complementary strategies to co-opt, divide and disorganize the forces of opposition to apartheid.

In essence "the fundamental goal of the restructuring process is to secure the maintenance of the capitalist system under National Party rule - and to entrench it more effectively by winning support from amongst the dominated groups for a restructured constitutional system", while at the same time "certain central features of the original apartheid policy remain unchanged. These include ethnic partition and differential citizenship as the basis for dividing the African majority and ensuring their exclusion from a common political system with other groups" (Zille and Hirsch in S.A. Review, Vol. 1, 1983 : 55-56). The constitution was rewritten along racial lines.

Reform, the restructuring of the social relations of domination, has not been a coherent process and has influenced and been influenced by the conflicts, contradictions and crises occurring in the rest of society (S.A. Review, Vol. 1, 1983). The reform initiative was an attempt to maintain the economic, social and political ascendancy of whites and the resultant unequal sharing of wealth between the whites and other communities. This remodelling or restructuring of political forms should not be dismissed simply as meaningless or irrelevant as it has had important implications for the organization of resistance to the processes of apartheid. The very ambiguity of the reform process suggests greater possibilities for the organization of the oppressed people. Saul and Gelb's reference to Gramsci is pertinent here "these incessant and persistent efforts ... form the terrain of the conjunctural, and it is upon this terrain that the forces of opposition organize" (Saul and Gelb, 1981 : 31).

The late 1970's and early 1980's saw the rise of mass democratic organizations and an upsurge in popular resistance to apartheid. The emergence and growth of the extra-parliamentary movement was channelled into the formation of the United Democratic Front (U.D.F.) in August 1983. The U.D.F. was established as an above ground legal political movement which aimed to co-ordinate the multiple points of resistance which had emerged in recent years.

The government's policy of reform and the formation of the U.D.F. to protest the political manifestations of the 'reform package' raised important issues regarding the organization and nature of resistance to the crisis in the apartheid system. Dr. Allan Boesak described these developments thus "Our response to the crisis facing us today is the politics of refusal. It is the only dignified response black people can give in this situation. In order to do this we need an united front There is no reason why churches, civic associations, trade unions, student organizations and sports bodies should not unite in the struggle for a non-racial, democratic and unitary South Africa; pool their resources and inform the people of the fraud that is about to be perpetrated in their name" (Speech at the Transvaal Anti S.A. Indian Council Congress in January 1983). The launch of the U.D.F. made possible broad-based, national, non-racial opposition to apartheid on a scale not seen since the Defiance Campaign of the 1950's.

The U.D.F. as a front of various organizations set out the following guiding principles in its declaration: firstly, the belief that democracy means the electing of representatives by the people and the allocation of resources for the benefit of all the people; secondly, the unity of all democrats regardless of race, religion or colour; thirdly, the recognition of the necessity to work with, consult and reflect accurately the demands of all democratic people in worker, community, student, women's and youth

organizations (Declaration of the United Democratic Front as adopted at the national launch, 20 August 1983).

The new constitutional dispensation failed to gain the support of the majority of the South African people. The development of broad based and increasingly militant resistance resulted in the emergence of a multi-class national democratic alliance against apartheid. The formation of this broad alliance was premised on the growing awareness amongst opposition groupings and organizations that while the system of racial capitalism was based on the unequal access to the means of production, the contradiction between capital and labour was not the only one. There was also a very definite contradiction between the oppressed, disenfranchised people and the state. The significance of racial or national oppression had come to the fore. There was a need for a national democratic struggle for genuine democratic political rights. Much discussion and debate has been generated concerning the conditions necessary for the formation of a free and democratic South Africa and the strategies and tactics necessary to achieve this end.

The upsurge of resistance to white domination has been met with repression. A wide range of security provisions were employed in an attempt to contain and neutralize resistance. This included blatant brutality. However, these attempts to regulate social conflict failed to curb opposition to apartheid. Reform from above was clearly and consistently rejected by opposition from the grassroots - opposition which frequently assumed a spontaneous character.

The response of the Roman Catholic Church to this decade of reform, resistance and repression will now be discussed.

A. REFORM.

The Apostolic delegate, Archbishop Cassidy, in his opening address to the S.A.C.B.C. in early 1980 said that while the Church did not pretend to point

out political solutions to governmental authorities, it did and furthermore it was required to "speak out on questions of moral principle and take a stand in defence of the dignity of the human person and of the values that emanate from it" (Rand Daily Mail, 6 February, 1980). The South African situation was such that it compromised this dignity and thus was the concern of the Church. At the same time the conference also noted that South Africa's economy was premised on the assumption that economic activity had little or no social responsibility (Rand Daily Mail, 14 February, 1980).

In September 1980 the Inter-Diocesan Pastoral Consultation, which brought together the biggest ever gathering of bishops, clergy, religious and the laity in Southern Africa, resolved that the Catholic Church should commit itself to working for the total liberation of all South Africans (Star, 2 September, 1980; S.A.C.B.C., 1981). Archbishop Cassidy's address, the acknowledgment of the unjust economic structure of South African society and the Church's stated commitment to 'total liberation', set the tone for future statements by the Catholic hierarchy on social and political issues during the ensuing years. This 'tone' was in keeping with the spirit and development of modern Catholic Social Teaching as discussed in Chapter Three.

The 31 May 1981 saw the twentieth anniversary of the establishment of the Republic of South Africa. The Catholic Church, as did numerous other religious and secular organisations, declined to participate in the official celebrations, believing that the majority of the people had no cause for celebration as they had no say in the government of the country and were deprived and oppressed in the land of their birth. The S.A.C.B.C. said that it hoped and prayed for the realization of the Christian vision in which love, compassion, forbearance, reconciliation and justice would be the motivating forces (S.A.C.B.C., 1983).

It emerges from S.A.C.B.C. statements and from the Conference's response to

the 'Republic Day' celebrations that apartheid is judged as indefensible evil and that therefore the bishops have a pastoral duty to speak out on political issues. Also need for full participatory democracy is acknowledged. These three points informed the response of the S.A.C.B.C. to both the South Africa Constitution Bill of 1983, in terms of which the tri-cameral parliament was established, and the companion 'Koornhof Bills'. (1) The constitutional proposals involved limited power sharing between whites, Indians and 'coloureds'. Africans were excluded.

Archbishop Denis Hurley, speaking on behalf of the S.A.C.B.C., summarized the position of the bishops as follows: "We feel that everybody in South Africa has a right to share in the resources of South Africa and a right to participate in the government of South Africa. Full participation may be difficult to reach immediately, but at least the principle should be enunciated and a method should be set up for a gradual implementation of that principle. Instead, in this proposed Constitution, we have the old principle of Apartheid re-emphasized in the exclusion of the Black people and the separation of the three parliaments. In the light of the Christian principles of love, justice and brotherhood, we judge the draft constitution to be very, very lacking, and we cannot support it" (Quoted in Y.C.S. Reflections No. 4, 1983 : 22). The S.A.C.B.C. also submitted a memorandum to the 'Parliamentary Committee for the Republic of South Africa Constitution Bill' detailing the bishops' observations and concerns as pastors of the Catholic Church and making some recommendations (S.A.C.B.C., 1983). The memorandum also extensively referred to the social teaching of the Catholic Church, particularly to 'Pacem in Terris' and 'Octogesima Adveniens', in setting out the requirements for justice and peace. The memorandum deplored the lack of a Bill of Rights, pointing out that the rights and duties pertaining to all members of society are universal, inviolable and inalienable. Such flaws put

in question the moral legitimacy of the entire constitutional proposals. The bishops noted that the 'Bill' represented the mind of only one section of the population. In their pastoral letter on the 'New Constitution' the bishops concluded, "In the light of Catholic social teaching, we are forced to conclude that the proposed constitution is not a satisfactory step on the road to peace in South Africa. It falls far short of what is required in terms of truth, justice, love and freedom. It fails in regard to justice by not spelling out the rights and duties of all. It fails in regard to the truth because it does not recognise the great majority of people. It fails in regard to love because it ensures that racial discrimination will continue. It fails in regard to freedom because it puts too much power in the hands of the president" (S.A.C.B.C., 1983).

The documents submitted to the parliamentary committee also included observations and proposals concerning the Bill by Cardinal Mc Cann, then Archbishop of Cape Town and the most senior South African Catholic churchman. He based his comments on the social teaching of the Catholic Church, especially on 'Pacem in Terris', and in the light of these teachings, concluded that the proposals would have to be drastically changed in order to conform with the requirements of justice (S.A.C.B.C., 1983 : 7-15).

A shortened version of the 'Memorandum' was issued as a joint pastoral letter to Catholics and was read in churches on 24/25 September 1983, some six weeks prior to the white referendum on 2 November 1983. The letter was signed by Archbishop Hurley in his capacity as president of the conference. The letter was dismissed by the so-called Catholic Defence League as the views of Archbishop Hurley in his individual capacity only. Several bishops issued a press statement emphasising that "documents which emanate from the S.A.C.B.C. and which are signed by our president reflect the views of the entire

conference" (Southern Cross, 9 October, 1983).

The response of the S.A.C.B.C. to the policy of reform as embodied in the 'New Constitution' and the 'Koornhof Bills' is significant. It established the parameters for the Church's response to further reform initiatives and the elections for the tri-cameral parliament. It asserted the Church's stance on human rights and clearly linked this stance to the tradition and teachings of the whole Church. It set out minimum demands for justice and asserted the full episcopal authority of the conference of bishops. The reaction of the Catholic Defence League was a harbinger of an organized right wing attempt to undermine the teachings and influence of the S.A.C.B.C. and isolate progressive individuals from the mainstream of the Church. The failure of the authorities to take cognizance of any of the suggestions and recommendations contained in the memorandum discouraged any prospect of reconciliation or 'a change of heart' which had been the hope of the 1970's. It was becoming increasingly clear to the Church that apartheid could not be reformed and that any attempts to do so were doomed to failure. This understanding was to have important implications for the future of church - state relations.

On 2 November 1983 the white electorate voted 'yes' to reform in a whites-only referendum. There was to be power-sharing between whites, Indians and 'coloureds'. The inauguration of the tri-cameral parliament followed and elections for the two 'new houses', The House of Delegates (Indian) and The House of Representatives (Coloureds) were held in August 1984. Popular resistance to participation in the tri-cameral parliament was expressed in a boycott of the 1984 elections for 'Indians' and 'Coloureds'. In terms of the reservations expressed by the S.A.C.B.C. in their memorandum, the bishops supported the boycott of the Coloured and Indian parliamentary elections. The S.A.C.B.C. was criticized once again by the Catholic Defence League for preaching 'politics' rather than 'faith and morals' (Rand Daily Mail,

21 August, 1984).

The failure of the 1983 reform formula to address the legitimate grievances and aspirations of the majority of South Africans led to an explosion of popular resistance affecting ever widening layers of black society (Swilling in S.A. Indicator, 1988 : 90).

In August 1985 a delegation of Church leaders including Archbishop Hurley met President P.W. Botha to discuss the deepening crisis and ways of ending racial conflict. However, the meeting did not result in any progress or even the identification of common ground. At a news conference after the meeting, Hurley said that "the two separate perceptions of South Africa's reality were so different that we hardly began to communicate at all" (Southern Cross, 8 September, 1985). The Church leaders had urged an announcement of government intention to abolish apartheid; a call for a national constitutional convention; the initiation of talks with recognised black leaders and an end to the state of emergency. These actions would indicate a preparedness to abandon apartheid. The dismissive approach of the government was not encouraging. By the end of 1985 it was clear that the S.A.C.B.C. and the government held opposing positions regarding the solution to the problems of South Africa. The August 1985 visit to P.W. Botha was to be the last such visit for some time. Clearly, the authorities were not to be persuaded to dismantle apartheid.

This realization brought to the fore the question of what means would bring about the demise of apartheid. It raised the issue of the politics of resistance and the relationship of the Church to protest politics, extra-parliamentary organizations and groupings and to various political strategies and options. These options included sanctions, boycotts, conscientious objection, the armed struggle and the national liberation movement - the

African National Congress.

However, the response of the Roman Catholic Church to these issues must be understood not only in terms of the inevitable failure of the reform initiative but also in terms of the other half of the reform dichotomy - repression.

B. REPRESSION

Sustained and massive repression was employed by the authorities in an attempt to contain and neutralize political protest. These measures have included the streamlining and consolidation of existing security legislation, wide spread detention, censorship, deportations, banishment, bannings of organizations and individuals, treason charges, political assassinations, the deployment of police and army in the townships and the all-encompassing provisions of the 'State of Emergency'. These devastating security measures were also an attempt to criminalize and de-legitimize political protest, while at the same time legalizing and professionalizing coercion.

The discussion of the response of the Church to repression is divided into two parts: firstly, the response of the Church to repression in general and secondly, the Church's specific experience of repression or the Church as a victim of repression.

B.1. REPRESSION IN GENERAL

In a letter to the Prime Minister referring to the detentions of members of the Y.C.W. and Y.C.S., the S.A.C.B.C. protested the "severity of the measures adopted in the name of law and order". The letter pleaded for the release of all those detained without trial and urged that they be charged before the courts or released (Letter to Prime Minister, 30 June, 1978). In May 1980 a S.A.C.B.C. statement signed by five archbishops 'respectfully' urged the Prime

Minister to withdraw the Police Amendment Bill then before Parliament (S.A.C.B.C. statement, 19 May, 1980). The disapproval of the bishops of repressive security measures was also evident in many of the statements of the 1970's and particularly in the 1982 'Report on Namibia'.

The wave of repression during 1984 was the most severe since the nation-wide unrest of 1976/77. The rising discontent, fuelled by the deepening recession and the failure of reform to address legitimate demands, was to erupt into a popular uprising during the mid 1980's. This discontent was evident in four broad areas namely: civic issues (housing, service charges, rent, transport); educational issues (lack of facilities, overcrowding, corporal punishment, S.R.C.'s, under-qualified teachers, costs); the lack of substance of the reforms; the rejection of the Black Local Authorities and the homeland system; the growth of anti-apartheid groupings amongst students, workers and communities, which facilitated the development of co-ordinating structures and strengthened organized internal opposition to apartheid (Swilling, 1987 : 14-15).

On 3 September 1984 residents of the Vaal Triangle took to the streets to protest rent increases imposed by the Lekoa Town Council. The ensuing confrontation between township residents and the police left more than 30 dead. On 6 September the S.A.C.B.C. issued a statement on the current violence in South Africa. "Once again", it said, "we are witnesses to an outburst among many people of social rage and seemingly irrational and senseless destruction. What is there to say? The system under which the people live is a guaranteed cause of such behaviour". The statement added "We deplore in the strongest possible terms the violence that has resulted in the death of more than thirty persons. We plead for reason and restraint on the part of all involved, those whose resentment has overflowed, and those charged with maintaining order" (S.A.I.R.R., 1984 : 909).

The rent boycott soon spread and work stayaways were called to protest rent and G.S.T. hikes. A boycott was called of all businesses owned by community councillors and there were calls for their resignations. In the immediate term the state's response to the uprisings in African residential areas was to suppress resistance through a combination of security force action and legislative sanction. There were mass detentions, bannings of meetings and restrictions placed on organizations in terms of the Internal Security Act. In an attempt to contain the unrest police were deployed in the townships on a virtually permanent basis. They were later assisted in this task by S.A.D.F. troops.

The actions of the security forces during this period of heightened unrest greatly concerned the S.A.C.B.C. An investigation was conducted by a research team of S.A.C.B.C. fieldworkers and priests assisted by an attorney. The investigation was carried out over a four week period during which about 45 affidavits were drawn up. A report was subsequently compiled and published by the S.A.C.B.C. The report, published in booklet form, was entitled "Report on Police Conduct during Township Protests, August - November 1984". It was issued on 6 December 1984. The report alleged irregular and provocative police activity during the three months beginning with the outbreak of violence in the Vaal townships on 3 September 1984. The report was drawn together with a sense of shock and sadness for "The allegations in the affidavits and statements in our possession describe an alarming carelessness or disregard for the people, property, feelings and even lives of the inhabitants of South Africa's black townships. The overwhelming impression created by the affidavits as a whole is that the police behaviour in the townships resembled that of an occupying foreign army controlling enemy territory by force without regard for the civilian population and, it appears, without regard for the law" (S.A.C.B.C., 1984 : 5). The allegations are dealt

with under several headings including indiscriminate use of firearms; assaults and beatings; assaults on mineworkers; damage to property; provocative, callous or insensitive conduct; indiscriminate or reckless use of teargas.

The bishops called for an immediate inquiry into police conduct in the townships and for appropriate disciplinary action to be taken. The police responded by questioning the credibility of the allegations and said that they could not be investigated as 'only the so called initials of the complainants were furnished' and this meant that the allegations were anonymous. Immediately after publication of the report the police Directorate of Public Relations issued a statement accusing the bishops of having "ulterior motives" (Sunday Express, December, 1984). The nature of these "ulterior motives" was not spelt out. The reluctance of the security authorities to take cognizance of the allegations contained in the report and the counter allegations made concerning the authenticity of the affidavits did not encourage the bishops to revise their opinion of the conduct of the security forces.

The 'Report on Police Conduct' was a remarkably fair document. The reason for the presence of the security forces in the townships was not discussed in the report. The focus was on their activities while they were there and it was these actions which were condemned. The report asserted that no circumstances, however onerous, could justify the unwarranted and unlawful conduct on the part of the police. The concluding remarks observed that "It was frequently asserted in the affidavits taken from township residents that the police appeared to believe they were at war" (S.A.C.B.C., 1984 : 28). The substance of the allegations against the police profoundly shocked the S.A.C.B.C. As a witness to the events of August-November 1984, and noting the impediments to comprehensive media coverage of these events and the resulting lack of

information, the S.A.C.B.C. felt compelled to fill the breach and publish accounts of police activities (S.A.C.B.C., 1984 : 2). This role was similar to that assumed in the 'Report on Namibia'. Catholic tradition teaches that moral responsibility demands an informed conscience. Only a conscience in full possession of the facts can judge between right and wrong. The S.A.C.B.C. was gradually seeing the investigation, documentation and publication of information as an important aspect of their moral and pastoral responsibilities. This role was to develop during the ensuing period of increased repression, censorship and press restrictions.

The S.A.C.B.C. also announced that it had given financial assistance to the families of unrest victims. It was noted that several churchmen had been detained during police and army raids on Vaal townships. Priests in the area participated in the ecumenical Vaal Ministers Solidarity Group. The Catholic Church in zone 12, Sebokeng, was petrol-bombed in October on the day visiting British Labour Party M.P. Donald Anderson, visited churchmen in the area. The Church was also the scene of a violent clash when a report-back meeting on the rent boycott, which was taking place at the Church, was banned. Police surrounded the Church firing teargas and rubber bullets (Inter Nos Vo. 7, Nov/Dec, 1984).(3)

The sympathy of the S.A.C.B.C. for township residents was expressed clearly both in the 'Report' and by the financial assistance offered. However, the Church did not identify itself with any political organization or grouping.

During the annual S.A.C.B.C. plenary session in January 1985 the entire bishops conference took part in a procession through the streets of Sebokeng and a service was held in the township's Emmanuel Catholic Church. Archbishop Hurley, president of the S.A.C.B.C., told the gathering that the bishops had come "to express our love and sympathy and to express our intention to do all

we can about the situation here" (Rand Daily Mail, 28 January, 1985). The service included special prayers for those who had died or had been injured in the 1984 unrest, for those in detention or awaiting trial and "especially those who suffer physical or mental torture to break their minds and bodies". Symbols of the unrest in the Vaal including a rubber bullet, a tear gas cannister, a rent invoice, school books, a list of the names of those who died during the unrest, a plastic bag containing a change of clothing for a detainee and the S.A.C.B.C.'s 'Report on Police Conduct' were offered up during the offertory together with the traditional symbols of bread and wine. The bishops described their presence in the Vaal as a recognition of the suffering of the people and reiterated their commitment to protest and bring the situation to the attention of those responsible (Star, 28 January, 1985). The Sebokeng service was extremely significant for it evidenced a movement on the part of Church leaders from a position of sympathy for those who suffer as a result of apartheid to a position of solidarity with those who suffer. It was particularly significant that the bishops travelled to Sebokeng for the service, instead of using the large Cathedral in white Johannesburg as a venue. The presence of the bishops in the strife-torn townships was a public display of solidarity. The pastors of the Church went to the people. The use of alternative and relevant symbols during the mass showed an openness on the part of the bishops to link the contemporary sufferings of the faithful to the tradition and ritual of the Church.

The Sebokeng Service was also a sign of the emergence of new traditions for the South African Catholic Church. At the next plenary meeting of the S.A.C.B.C. in January 1986, the bishops concelebrated mass in another township, which had been the scene of violence and unrest - Mamelodi township, near Pretoria, where 17 people were killed during police shootings at a meeting to protest rent increases on 21 November 1985. The service was held

at St Peter Clavers Catholic Church in Mamelodi. During the penitential rite symbols of violence including rubber bullets, teargas canisters, a sjambok, petrol bomb materials, stones and a knobkierrie were dumped in a dustbin. This symbolic discarding of weapons was accompanied by a prayer for an end to violence in South Africa (Southern Cross, 9 February, 1986).

During the 1987 plenary session the S.A.C.B.C. service was held at St Charles Lwanga Catholic Church in Soshanguve. This is the parish church of the then secretary general of the S.A.C.B.C. Fr. Smangoliso Mkhathshwa, who was in detention. There was a symbolic unlocking of chains to highlight the plight of political detainees. Candles, surrounded by barbed wire, were also lit. Bishop Mogale Nkhumishe of Lydenburg/Witbank said "What brings us together here is obvious: we have heard of the many sufferings you have to endure, not only you but also many of our brothers and sisters all over the country. Many have been killed in shooting and burnings. Thousands are detained. Many have fled the country. Many have been mutilated, others crippled. These are the things that bring us here today. We have to demonstrate our solidarity with you. We have to comfort and console you in all these sufferings " (Southern Cross, 8 February, 1987).

During the January 1988 plenary session, ten bishops visited the Hluvukani refugee camp near Acornhoek in the Eastern Transvaal to conduct a service for Mozambican refugees (Southern Cross, 7 February, 1988; New Nation, 21 January, 1988). The S.A.C.B.C. said that it was hoped the visit would draw more national and international attention to the plight of Mozambican refugees in South Africa and the activities of Renamo in Mozambique (Citizen, 25 January, 1988).

In January 1989, the S.A.C.B.C. held a service in 'Regina Mundi' Church in Soweto for detainees and "all those unjustly deprived of their liberty". A

letter from twenty hunger-striking detainees was read out. A Soweto parishioner remarked on this occasion that the people had not always known "where they stood" with the bishops, but the bishops were finally beginning to show solidarity with their cause (Star, 30 January, 1989).

The now annual S.A.C.B.C. services are evidence of a shift in focus from the white areas to the black townships where most South African Catholics live. This shift is perceived by the S.A.C.B.C. to be a demonstration of solidarity with the sufferings of township residents, and is also perceived as such by township Catholics. These township services are a very public demonstration of solidarity with the victims of apartheid repression. The hierarchical nature of the Roman Catholic Church and the pivotal role played by bishops in the life of the Church underlines the significance of these services and points to a new pastoral concern by the Church.

In June 1985 the S.A.C.B.C. released the 'Statement on the Day of Mourning and Prayer'. This statement called upon all Catholics in South Africa to observe Sunday, 16 June, as a special day of mourning and prayer for those killed in Soweto in 1976 and in so many other black townships since, especially those who died in Langa, Uitenhage on 21 March 1985 (S.A.C.B.C., June 1985). The statement reminded Catholics of the S.A.C.B.C.'s long standing opposition to apartheid and racial discrimination, as well as the attempts within the Church itself to eradicate apartheid practices in the life and institutions of the Church. The current situation of endemic unrest and escalating violence was described as the worst crisis South Africa had ever experienced. The statement offered a theological analysis of the situation and warned that "we must not underestimate the seriousness, in the eyes of God, of what has been done and continues to be done by those who uphold apartheid in whatever form" (S.A.C.B.C., 1985). The statement reminded Catholics that the present time was also a time of hope because the people, especially in the black townships,

were making their grievances and demands known and were standing up courageously for their rights.

It was becoming increasingly clear that the S.A.C.B.C. regarded the demise of apartheid as the pre-condition for justice and peace. Although, once again, the statement did not identify itself with any political grouping, it distanced the Church from the policies of apartheid and condemned complicity, however passive, with these policies. The statement was critical of all violence. The S.A.C.B.C. consistently urged Catholics to observe 16 June as a day of prayer and mourning. The South African Council of Catholic Laity supported this call. Four Catholic womens' organizations, the Association of Women Religious, the Catholic Women's League, the Grail and the Women of St Anne, issued a joint statement calling on employers to allow domestic workers, who were mothers, to be at home with their children on 16 June (Southern Cross, 22 June, 1986). 'Regina Mundi' Catholic Church in the centre of Soweto has been the venue of many 16 June commemoration services organized by both secular and religious groups.(4)

The 1980's saw a growing solidarity on behalf of the Church hierarchy with those who suffer under the 'evil' system of apartheid and for those who suffer the repressive consequences of protesting this system. However, the S.A.C.B.C. was also aware that this spirit of solidarity is not shared by all the members of the Church. In his 1987 message for June 16, Bishop Wilfred Napier, the president of the S.A.C.B.C., observed that the divisions between the people of South Africa were very evident in the way they regarded the commemoration of events such as those of 16 June 1976. He said that "For the Churches, Soweto day is a source of deep worry and concern, for it brings into the open the wide rift that continues to exist between black and white members of the same Church. For in spite of a unity which they profess and symbolize in the sacrament of holy communion, they are in fact and remain tragically divided by things that

have no place in the Church Jesus Christ established specifically to live in mutual acceptance and love" (Southern Cross, 12 July, 1987). The challenge, which the realities of South African society presented to the Church, was how to overcome these divisions and strive together for the realization of justice in all aspects of this society.

The S.A.C.B.C.'s stand on human rights and apartheid was not shared by all white Catholics. The extent of dissent was unclear. However, the bishops and the S.A.C.B.C. Justice and Peace Commission were frequently lambasted for their "interference in politics" in letters to the secular press and Church publications. A perusal of the letters page of the Catholic weekly newspaper, the 'Southern Cross', over the past decade provides numerous examples of dissatisfaction with the stance of the bishops on socio-political issues. The readership of the 'Southern Cross' is predominately white. The relevance of this newspaper has been questioned by more progressive Church groupings, who argue that the content of the newspaper does not reflect the life and experience of the whole Church in South Africa. (Also see later in discussion of the 'New Nation'). These years also saw the emergence of right wing Catholic groups, for example the Tradition, Family and Property Bureau (T.F.P.), which is discussed in greater depth later.

The S.A.C.B.C. condemned the imposition and renewal of successive states of emergency, the consequent lack of effective curbs on police action, the granting of indemnity to the security forces and the blocking of access to the courts for detainees.

The years following the 1984 S.A.C.B.C. report on police conduct were years of intensifying repression and brutality. This was legalized through the national state of emergency and a growing number of security laws. The death toll resulting from political conflict during the period January 1984 - June

1988 was 3 574 (Indicator S.A. Issue Focus, 1988 : 12-13). During the same period 8 414 people were detained in terms of security legislation, while the then Minister of Law and Order, Louis le Grange, announced in parliament that 11 006 people had been arrested during 1986 for public violence and other township unrest offences (Indicator S.A. Issue Focus, 1988 : 92-93).

Repression was expressed in various forms including: the outlawing and criminalization of democratic opposition to apartheid through bannings and restrictions on organizations; a plethora of security and treason trials involving political activists; mass arrests and detentions; the detention of children; political assassinations and vigilante attacks; forced removals and resettlement; the continued use of the death penalty for politically related crimes; more strigent censorship of both the alternative and commercial media. A broad range of organizations and individuals have been affected by these measures. While the Churches did not bear the major brunt of these repressive measures, they were not exempt.

B.2. REPRESSION AND THE CATHOLIC CHURCH

The extent to which the Catholic Church was been a victim of state repression and the nature of this repression will be discussed. This discussion can be divided into repression directed against particular individuals and that affecting the Church on a more general level.

During the 1970's isolated individuals within the Church were victims of various forms of repression, which inhibited and sometimes altogether curbed their pastoral work. The fact that so many Catholic priests and religious in South Africa are not South African citizens has made them particularly vulnerable to deportation and expulsion.(5)

In February 1980 three black priests of the Johannesburg Diocese, Frs. M. Mkhize, R. Mokobane and P. Mvemve were detained and interrogated by the Security

Police regarding allegations of their involvement in the harbouring and transportation of 'terrorists'. Archbishop J.P. Fitzgerald of Johannesburg said that he rejected "all the implied accusations, and vehemently condemn the insult to the Sacred Priesthood in the conduct of the members of the Security Police, and I challenge them to prove their accusations in the courts of the land" (S.A.C.B.C., 8 February, 1980).(6)

Although such acts of repression did have implications for the Church, they were not directed against the Church. The Catholic Church was not a target of state repression, but members of the Catholic Church were victims of state repression. The fact that they were members of the Church and in many instances were members of the clergy did not afford them any protection. Furthermore, the interventions and protests by the Church hierarchy on behalf of these victims were not particularly successful. The significance of these events for the Church was that the Church was confronted with the realities of repression and with the imperviousness of the authorities to protest - even from the bishops who are 'Princes of the Church'. Effectively, the authority of the Catholic bishops was challenged by the intransigence of the security authorities. This pattern of events was to remain a feature of Church-state relations throughout the 1980's. The intensifying repression, especially during the successive states of emergency, saw the detention, deportation, expulsion and harassment of many Catholics.

Fr. Smangoliso Mkhathshwa of Soshanguwe near Pretoria was subjected to various forms of repression. He has been detained four times, banned, restricted and tortured. On 1 May 1981, while serving his five year banning order, he was appointed Secretary General of the S.A.C.B.C.. (7) Throughout his many travails Fr. Mkhathshwa had the unequivocal and public support of the S.A.C.B.C. and his term of office as Secretary General was extended (Southern Cross, 31 May, 1987).

Other S.A.C.B.C. employees to be detained during this period were Sister Bernard Ncube of the Justice and Reconciliation Commission, Tom Waspe of the Economics Advisory Commission and Thabi Shange of the Christian Development Education Project. A statement issued by the S.A.C.B.C. on 20 August 1986 said that at one stage there were forty two Church personnel in detention. These included twelve priests, three deacons, four religious sisters, twenty students of St Joseph's scholasticate, Cedara, and three lay workers (Southern Cross, 31 August, 1986). Fr. Theo Kneifel O.M.I. and Brother Heinz Ernst O.M.I. of St Joseph's scholasticate were deported. Another Catholic deportee was Mrs Annica van Gylswyk of the Justice and Reconciliation Commission of the Pretoria Archdiocese, while Dominique Souchon, worker for the Justice and Reconciliation Commission of the Port Elizabeth diocese, was served with deportation orders as well (Inter Nos, No. 2, July 1986 : 3).

Also during 1986 Dominican Sister Clare Harkin was arrested in terms of the Emergency Regulations at a funeral in New Crossroads, Cape Town. Sister Clare had implored a policeman to stop beating a young boy. The Supreme Court found that Sister Clare's arrest was not justifiable in terms of the emergency regulations and ordered the Minister of Law and Order to pay costs (Cape Times, 11 July, 1986). In May 1986 Fr. Frank Barry, a priest at the Vleichfontein mission near Rustenburg, was acquitted of charges against him in terms of Section 27(2)(a) of the Police Act. Fr. Barry had complained about the arrest of mission staff for pass offences (Southern Cross, 8 June, 1986). Fr. Richard O'Riordan was deported from the Transkei after a period in detention. Fr. O'Riordan, who was the rector of Zingisa Minor Seminary, had made enquiries regarding the deaths of activist Bathandwa Ndondo and the Cradock four (Southern Cross, 9 March, 1986). (8)

The Catholics discussed above were detained, deported, arrested and charged because of their opposition to apartheid, not because they were Catholic.

However, these victims of repression were motivated by their Christian faith and saw their undoubted opposition to apartheid as a logical consequence of that faith. The Church hierarchy never distanced itself from any of the activities of any of these Catholics, but rather assured them of its support. This support countered the attempts by the police to discredit individuals by isolating them from the broader Church. The attempts by the security authorities to portray their activities as criminal did not meet with much success. None of those mentioned above served a sentence for any offence. The repression meted out to many members of the Church served to emphasize the Church's awareness of and opposition to repression. The Church also turned to the courts for recourse and in so doing publically contested actions taken against its members.

The plethora of security legislation and the regulations of the State of Emergency, the banning of meetings, the restrictions on funerals and on the press affected the Catholic Church in the same way in which they affected the society in general. These security provisions were not directed against the Church specifically and did not particularly affect the everyday functioning of the Church. However, in April 1987 all joint actions calling for the release of detainees held in terms of emergency or security legislation were outlawed in terms of new prohibitions set out in a special Government Gazette.

Archbishop Naidoo of Cape Town said that the regulations appeared to prohibit praying publicly for detainees and if this was the case, then the new regulation would be disregarded by the Church (Cape Times, 13 April, 1987). The S.A.C.B.C. continued to call for the release of all detainees and urged Catholics to pray for detainees (Cape Times, 11 June, 1987; Sowetan, 10 March, 1989; Southern Cross, 26 February, 1989). Bishop Napier, President of the S.A.C.B.C., issued a statement that the Church could not tolerate the government's dictating what the Church could pray for. Reacting to reports that law and order authorities had said it was not illegal for Church services

to be held for the release of detainees, Bishop Napier said that the regulations made no mention of exemption for Churches. He added that the Catholic Church did not want any favours which would allow it to campaign legally for the release of detainees (Southern Cross, 3 May, 1987).

Mr Harvey Tyson, then editor in chief of the 'Star' newspaper, praised the South African Catholic bishops for being "watchdogs of human rights" at a meeting of the World Freedom Committee in London (Southern Cross, 22 November, 1987). During the S.A.C.B.C.'s 'Ad limina' visit to the Pope in November 1987, John Paul II expressed his clear support for the stance of the bishops on contemporary South African issues. Papal support was reiterated by the Apostolic Delegate, Monsignor Mario Cassari, during his opening address at the 1988 annual plenary session. Monsignor Cassari said that the South African bishops had both the right and the duty to evaluate the justice of the South African situation, to express their opinions and to consider the consequences of such a stance (Star, 20 January, 1988; Business Day, 20 January, 1988). The stand of the S.A.C.B.C. towards apartheid was reaffirmed in a document issued by the Vatican's Pontifical Commission for Justice and Peace, entitled "The Church and Racism - Towards a More Fraternal Society" (S.A.C.B.C., March 1989). The introduction notes that there is frequently a relationship between social conflict and racial prejudice and sets out to propose suitable pastoral guidelines for Christians and all people of good will who seek the same objectives. The 'regime of apartheid' is included in the discussion of contemporary forms of racism. The document states that institutionalized racism, that sanctioned by the constitution and laws of a country, is exemplified by the policy of apartheid or 'separate development'. South Africa is seen as an extreme case of a vision of racial inequality and is characterized as a system of repression where the majority is the victim. The document notes the majority of the Christian Churches in South Africa have denounced these

segregationist policies as have the international community and the Vatican. The entire South African community, as well as the international community, is urged to make every effort to promote concrete dialogue between the principal parties involved in order to achieve justice and peace (S.A.C.B.C., Pretoria, 1989 : 13-15).

It is clear from the foregoing discussion that the Roman Catholic Church in South Africa rejected the system of apartheid. This rejection was unambiguous. The policy of reform was regarded as inadequate to the task of realizing reconciliation in a deeply divided society. Furthermore, it had become increasingly clear that 'reform' was heavily dependent on repression and coercion. Repression was consistently condemned and protested by the Church. The Church has played an increasing role in exposing repression - the 'Report on Namibia' and the 'Report on Police Conduct' being outstanding examples of the Church's public and vocal condemnation of apartheid. The escalating political violence and brutal repression saw a growing demonstration of solidarity on behalf of the Church with victims of repression. The detention, deportation and harassment of members of the clergy and the Khanya House bomb blast have strengthened the anti-apartheid resolve of the S.A.C.B.C. The 1980's also saw the development of a greater understanding and analysis of the dynamics of apartheid society and of the central role played by repression.

The Church was also confronted with the realization that the addressing of protests to the government and to the security authorities was unsuccessful. The failure of the government to heed the warnings of the S.A.C.B.C. and its persistent unwillingness to engage in dialogue resulted in a shift in emphasis from talking to the government and those in power to talking to those who opposed the government. The Church increasingly distanced itself from the policies of apartheid and came to accept that apartheid could not be reformed

and that nothing less than the total transformation of South African society was required.

This reassessment raised other issues, including the need for alternative strategies and the relationship of the Church to other organizations and groupings involved in resisting apartheid.

Fr. Buti Tlhgale, speaking on the 'Conflict between Church and State' at the 'Indicator Human Rights Award and Newsmaker of the Year' function in Lenasia during July 1988, described this process of reassessment, "The present times are characterised by the increasingly repressive style of government on the one hand and the progressive radicalisation of the erstwhile politically conservative Church institutions ... The physical human suffering caused by the regime, especially the suffering inflicted on youthful lives, has brought about a new crisis in the heart of the Churches. In the face of such ruthlessness and merciless silencing of any meaningful opposition, how could the Churches claim credibility and moral legitimacy amongst its followers? This has left Churches no alternative but to challenge the Hitlerism of today The radicalisation of the politics of the oppressed also contributed towards the radicalisation of the Churches It had become imperative to go beyond protest sermons and engage in convincing non-violent programmes of opposition" (Indicator, 26 July, 1988).

What was to be done about apartheid? The requests, letters, petitions, exhortations, hopes and prayers of the S.A.C.B.C. had met with little success. Apartheid had proved unyielding. Having condemned apartheid and been forced to acknowledge that all attempts to effect reconciliation had proved fruitless, the Church was obliged to consider the proposals for action suggested by other organizations and groupings opposed to apartheid. Popular resistance to apartheid challenged the Catholic Church to address both non-violent and violent

methods of protest and resistance. These were also 'signs of the times'. During recent years the Church has considered the issues of sanctions, defiance and civil disobedience, conscientious objection, the role of military chaplains, support for banned organizations, particularly the A.N.C., the increase in political violence and the role of the armed struggle.

C. RESISTANCE

SANCTIONS AND DISINVESTMENT - THE QUESTION OF ECONOMIC PRESSURE

The issue of economic sanctions against South Africa has been on the political agenda since the early 1960's, when Albert Luthuli called for such measures on the grounds that they would help shorten the period of suffering. He wrote "The Nationalist Government's own success in driving overseas capital away from South Africa tells in our favour. We do not want South Africa to be poor; but we do not desire any continuance of the system whereby our labour and foreign capital keep the present state of affairs indefinitely in existence ... the progressive isolation of the men who live by the apartheid creed is desirable ..." (Luthuli, 1982 : 205). The debate regarding the importance and effectiveness of the 'sanctions strategy' within the context of the broad struggle for democracy and freedom has continued and intensified (New Nation, 28 January, 1988).

Sanctions as a non-violent political strategy dominated political debate during the 1980's. The issue has been and continues to be extremely controversial. The advocates of sanctions, including the A.N.C., the U.D.F., Cosatu and the S.A.C.C., argue that the call for comprehensive mandatory sanctions is the most effective way to end apartheid. Such sanctions would severely undermine the economic structure of South Africa. In the face of South African capital's vulnerability to sanctions these organizations urge the mobilization of the international community for the isolation of the

apartheid government and its economy. A U.D.F. spokesperson commented that "Sanctions are one peaceful means in a totality of strategies against apartheid ... we are calling for maximum pressure against the Nationalist government - not to bring about negotiations, but to end apartheid" (New Nation, 28 July, 1989).

Those opposed to the call for sanctions argue that the imposition of sanctions will heighten the suffering of blacks and lead to an increase in unemployment and poverty. They also contend that the majority of blacks are opposed to sanctions. Others insist that sanctions do not work but rather detract from the work being done inside South Africa to end apartheid.

A poll conducted by the 'Community Agency for Social Enquiry' (C.A.S.E.) in 1987 indicated widespread support for sanctions and disinvestment. The 'C.A.S.E.' survey claimed that conditional sanctions achieved majority support among blacks. These results closely reflect the position of the major Church organizations and trade union federations, such as Cosatu, Nactu and S.A.C.C. (S.A. Barometer, Vol 1, No 18, 1987).

Churchmen such as Archbishop Tutu, Rev. Beyers Naude and Dr. Boesak played a central role in promoting the call for sanctions and disinvestment as the only non-violent methods available to bring about social and political change in South Africa. Sanctions were mooted as an alternative to violence. The controversy regarding the issue of sanctions was mirrored in the Catholic Church.

In the face of the escalation of political violence since September 1984, the S.A.C.B.C. felt compelled to address alternatives and non-violent measures including boycotts, passive resistance and economic pressure in the form of divestment, disinvestment and sanctions. Moral persuasion had been unsuccessful. The "S.A.C.B.C. with the leadership of other Churches, has

consistently called attention to the evils of apartheid. Now that people are manifesting more and more clearly their pain and resentment at the hurt inflicted, those who exercise leadership in the Church must respond by paying greater attention to their suffering and by supporting their endeavours to vindicate their rights in morally acceptable ways" (S.A.C.B.C., 1986 : 2-3).

A booklet was published to inform Catholics and other concerned persons of the stage reached in the consideration of the use of non-violent methods of pressure against apartheid. The booklet included the text of a paper prepared by the S.A.C.B.C.'s Commission for Justice and Reconciliation entitled "Economic Measures Against Apartheid and the Challenge to the Church". The bishops' statement was read at Sunday services and comments were invited. The contents of the booklet resulted in much consternation among white Catholics. Many declared themselves opposed to such measures and to such issues being raised in Church. There was a walkout by Catholic parishioners at Victory Park Catholic Church in northern Johannesburg while they were being given the reasons for the S.A.C.B.C.'s consideration of a call for increased economic pressure. It was reported in the press that one man who was leaving the Church shouted his objection to the raising of the matter in Church. The large majority of the mostly white congregation of five or six hundred people applauded the man's remarks. More than five hundred people of the Yeoville Catholic community signed a petition protesting against the imposition of economic measures against South Africa. A survey conducted by the 'Star' newspaper found **these** attitudes endorsed by several other white parishes approached for comment. However, a spokesman for the black Alexandra Catholic community said that many members of that congregation were in favour of economic sanctions being imposed. Comment could not be obtained from parishes in Soweto (Star, 28 April, 1986). At a meeting of priests in the Durban diocese the majority voted against sanctions (Southern Cross, 11 May, 1986). The debate regarding the issue of sanctions graphically illustrates the

struggle for ideological hegemony taking place in the Catholic Church between conservative and progressive visions of the social role of the Church. The controversy regarding sanctions mirrored the debate taking place in the broader society. It was becoming clear that there is a struggle within the Church for a particular definition of Christianity - between a Christianity concerned with public issues and social justice and a Christianity primarily concerned with private morality and interior spirituality.

Fr. J. Wilson pointed out in a letter to the 'Star' newspaper that actions, such as the mass walk-out by the predominantly white congregation from the Victory Park Catholic Church on the pretext that religion was being mixed with politics, raised a number of fundamental issues. Fr. Wilson suggested that such people have successfully converted everything into apartheid terms. Religion is regarded as apart from life and politics apart from its moral implications. There is a total separation of the spiritual and the temporal, as if they were two parallel realities that never crossed (Star, 6 May, 1986). The issue exposed the sharply divided character of the South African Catholic Church. Such actions also questioned the right of the bishops to comment on matters of public morality. This attitude was in sharp contrast to the strong emphasis on all aspects of public morality which pervades post Vatican II social teaching. It also questioned the authority and collegiality of the S.A.C.B.C.. Clearly, among many white Catholics the hegemony of apartheid and white privilege was dominant. This seriously compromised the unity of the Catholic Church.

In early May, after an extraordinary plenary session, the S.A.C.B.C. released a pastoral letter 'On Economic Pressure for Justice'. The letter concluded that the application of economic pressures to end apartheid was justified. "We must emphasise from the start that it is the unprecedented seriousness of our present crisis, the enormity of the present suffering of the oppressed people of South Africa and the horrifying spectre of escalating violence that

has led us to take this stand. Anyone who does not appreciate the untold daily sufferings of the people, the pain, the insecurity, the starvation and the horrors of widespread unemployment that are associated with the present system, will also not appreciate the need for drastic and extraordinary measures to put an end to all this misery as quickly as possible. The system of apartheid has caused so much suffering and so much harm to human relations in our country for so long and is now being defended, despite some reforms, with such repressive violence that people have had to resort to the strongest possible forms of pressure to change the system. It seems that the most effective of non-violent forms of pressure left is economic pressure" (S.A.C.B.C., 1986).

However, the support of the S.A.C.B.C. was qualified. Archbishop Hurley said that giving qualified support to economic pressures was an attempt to reconcile the effect of such actions on political change with the possibility that they might increase unemployment and violence (Star, 2 May, 1986). The bishops argued that the use of economic pressure was morally acceptable provided that its effect on employment and the economy of the new South Africa was taken into account. The bishops would support sanctions on three conditions, namely, that they would not cripple or destroy the economy, that they would keep further job loss to a minimum and that they were backed by the people most affected.

Fr. K. Rai commented that "Strictly speaking the statement is open to opposite interpretations. If the conditions cannot be met, the statement amounts to a vote against economic pressure. If they can, it amounts to a conditional support of it ... it reflects the ambivalence of the issue" (Southern Cross, 8 June 1986). Fr. Tlhagale was more critical and said that by giving only qualified support to sanctions, the S.A.C.B.C. was tying itself in knots and dragging its feet (Indicator, 26 July, 1988). These comments reflected

different perceptions within the Church. On the one hand, issues such as sanctions were seen as complex both morally and in political/economic terms, while on the other, the response of the Church was seen as halting, ambiguous and indicative of the Church's inability to commit itself unconditionally to the struggle for a new South Africa. Archbishop Hurley commented succinctly "It is obvious that we were caught in a dilemma and were not really able to resolve it" (Inter Nos, July, 1986). Although the Church had committed itself to the demise of apartheid and looked forward to a new South Africa, it remained reluctant to endorse sanctions as a means of undermining apartheid. The bishops argued that it would be beyond their sphere of competence as bishops to advocate economic pressures. No alternative strategies were suggested by the S.A.C.B.C. The position of the Catholic Church on sanctions as a non-violent method of change remained confusing and dogged by controversy. Both progressive and conservative Catholics were critical of it (Southern Cross, 31 July, 1988). In discussions of the sanctions issue by Church leaders such as Dr. Boesak, Archbishop Tutu, Rev. Chikane and Dr. Beyers Naude, the Catholic Church was conspicuous by its absence. The Catholic Church seemed anxious to avoid the controversy surrounding the issue.

It would not be fanciful to argue that the S.A.C.B.C.'s reservations and qualifications regarding the sanctions issue undermined the position of the pro-sanctions lobby (Southern Cross, 27 May, 1986 and 14 December, 1986).

THE QUESTION OF VIOLENCE AND ARMED RESISTANCE

The escalation of political violence, the war in Namibia and Angola, the intensification of the armed struggle of the A.N.C. and the P.A.C. and the growth of opposition to compulsory military conscription have thrust the debate regarding the use of violence in political struggle to the fore (Villa-Vicencio, 1987). The Catholic Church does not have a pacifist tradition, but the issue of violence has been a divisive and contentious one for the Church

in South Africa. The Church's condemnation of violence has been all encompassing.

In the years since 1976 the Church has deepened its understanding of the 'institutionalized violence' of apartheid and concluded that much of the violence evident in society is a product of institutionalized violence. However, the S.A.C.B.C. consistently argued that "true peace will not be achieved by violence. Rather must we identify the causes of the violence, the diseases responsible for the symptoms, the fear, prejudice and hatred in men's hearts - the selfishness, the greed, the reluctance to share our rights and goods with all; the lack of respect and even sometimes contempt for the human dignity and rights of all our brothers and sisters. When we become aware of, and accept responsibility for the violence in our hearts, and therefore in the society of which we are members, then only will the healing grace of God's love be able to bring peace and reconciliation into our lives" (Southern Cross, 16 January, 1983).

In spite of the Catholic Church's 'Just War' tradition and the criteria suggested by this tradition, the Church's understanding of violence in the South African situation has not been contextual. All violence has been judged as having the same content. Distinctions have not been made between 'aggressive' and 'defensive' violence, institutionalized violence and resistance and repression and defiance. As a result of the avoidance of these distinctions crucial issues regarding the politics of resistance are glossed over.

In August 1985 the bishops of South Africa, Namibia, Botswana and Swaziland issued a statement deploring the recent violence in South Africa. The statement referred to "the violence of the system, the violence of the police... and the violence of those who, angered and frustrated beyond measure, have pursued in reprisal and political antagonism the path of

destruction, injury, intimidation and even killing" (Southern Cross, 25 August, 1985). The statement acknowledged "proper fulfilment of duty" by the police, "where this has occurred", but said the apartheid system was the main cause of violence. The statement warned that the violence would continue until the system of apartheid ended and called for the lifting of the state of emergency. These sentiments were echoed by a statement from the South African Council of Catholic Laity (S.A.C.C.L.).

The Church has been critical of the many and various manifestations of apartheid violence, including the destabilization of neighbouring countries, forced removals, the deployment of troops in the townships and the death penalty. The S.A.C.B.C. has supported the rights of conscientious objectors and endorsed the campaign to end conscription (S.A.C.B.C., 1977; 1983; Southern Cross, 7 July, 1985; Southern Cross, 29 November, 1987). The Catholic bishops 'earnestly recommended' the commutation of the death sentences of 32 people awaiting execution for politically related 'crimes'. The statement said that "Great numbers of people, including a powerful youth movement, consider that what these persons stand condemned of are 'acts of war' performed in the liberation struggle, in which the South African state is responsible for even greater and more widespread violence. In the eyes of their supporters the condemned persons are patriots and heroes. Execution will endow them with the crown of martyrdom. Whatever we may think of this assessment, however we may recoil in horror from deliberate killing, indiscriminate bombing and the brutality of "necklacing", the assessment described is a reality of political life in South Africa" (Southern Cross, 6 September, 1987).

This appreciation of political realities was further evidenced by the response of the S.A.C.B.C. to the case of the 'Sharpeville Six' who were sentenced to death for the murder of Lekoa town councillor Jacob Dlamini in 1984, though it

was never conclusively shown that any of them had directly caused or contributed to his death.(9) An S.A.C.B.C. statement said "As Church leaders we cannot condone the taking of a life. However, in the present political climate in South Africa, killing people who are perceived as collaborators with the system of apartheid is seen as a political, not criminal act. We suggest that this is seen as a mitigating circumstance, and accordingly ask State President Mr P.W. Botha to commute the death sentences imposed on the 'Sharpeville Six'. This is because we cannot condone the taking of a life by the State either" (Citizen, 2 December, 1987; Sowetan, 3 December, 1987). In a letter written during her time on death row Theresa Ramashamola wrote poignantly "Remember, the problems of the world reflect the people who live in it Where justice rules, peace shall govern" (Sowetan, 17 March, 1988). Theresa's words were in keeping with modern Catholic social teaching that there is a close relationship between justice and peace.

In an attempt to address the dilemma of the means whereby a just peace could be realized, the Theological Advisory Commission of the S.A.C.B.C. prepared a report entitled "The Things that Make for Peace" (S.A.C.B.C., 1985).(11) The report grappled with the issues of justice, conflict, solidarity, conscientious objection, law and order, violence and the future. The report emphasized that everyone is called to work actively for peace and for "forceful yet non-violent change". Once again reconciliation was an important theme of the report. Balia points out that the report tends to idealize non-violence as a political strategy (and) also to pre-determine the nature of the Christian contribution to the revolutionary process (Balia, 1989 : 123). The report would have been of far greater value had it been produced some years earlier but in the mid 1980's it begged the real problems.

Fr. Buti Tlhagale O.M.I. applied the criteria of the 'just war' theory to the South African conflict and pointed out that "What the white community

perceives as savagery, as when people associated with apartheid are burned to death, blacks interpret differently. What seems a senseless destruction of life and property, of schools and buses and delivery vehicles, is seen by young blacks especially as an aggressive statement of radical protest, of self-affirmation: a tactic to compel the government to reckon with their frustrated aspirations. Violence is seen as a protest beyond moral indignation, beyond words: as a direct assault on the apartheid system ... the violence resorted to by the A.N.C. is seen as hardly comparable with the human suffering inflicted in the name of apartheid" (Southern Cross, 22 December, 1985).

However, the S.A.C.B.C. issued a statement regarding the double car bomb explosions in Johannesburg on 20 May, 1987, reiterating "our strong opposition to the use of violence, regardless of the source or the intention - security or liberation ... Violence is a monster which when unleashed creates and follows its own laws. We appeal therefore to our fellow citizens to recognise in good time the fact that a ghastly future awaits us unless we acknowledge human life and the human person to be the supreme value on earth, and so do all in our power to protect them. The loss of one life is a loss to all life" (Southern Cross, 7 June, 1987).

In August 1988, it was widely reported in the press that the S.A.C.B.C. had issued a statement strongly condemning the recent spate of bombings in shopping areas and public places (for example the Star, Die Burger, the Natal Witness, the Cape Times and the Citizen, 16 August, 1988). The statement said that "Innocent people are killed, maimed or injured. Families and individuals are struck by untold and unjustified suffering. They cannot be held responsible for the system which we labour under in our country. Whoever is responsible, there can be no justification for these indiscriminate bombings. At the same time we must point out again that apartheid with its built-in

structural violence is the root cause of the violent reactions we deplore. Only when apartheid is ended can we hope for a situation of peace in which people can live as befits their dignity as equal citizens". At the same time the S.A.C.B.C. reiterated its support for conscientious objectors refusing to serve in the S.A.D.F.

In situations where there is recourse to armed struggle, the magisterium of the Church admits that this may be necessary as a last resort to put an end to an obvious and prolonged tyranny which is gravely damaging the fundamental rights of individuals and the common good. This position was reaffirmed in the 'Instruction on Christian Freedom and Liberation' which was discussed in Chapter 3. Although the S.A.C.B.C. has called on the government to release all detainees and political prisoners, unban all banned organizations, lift the State of Emergency, dismantle apartheid and enter into negotiations with all genuine political leaders, it has not judged the system to be a tyranny and thus has not condoned the use of violence against it.

Also in spite of the S.A.C.B.C.'s support for the E.C.C. and for conscientious objectors the issue of military chaplaincy remains contentious and divisive especially amongst white Catholics. However, the S.A.C.B.C. did meet with representatives of the A.N.C. in Lusaka in 1986. The military wing of the A.N.C., Umkhonto-we-Sizwe, is engaged in an armed struggle against the South African government and commits acts of sabotage against various economic and symbolically important targets.

D. THE A.N.C. AND THE S.A.C.B.C.

Archbishop Hurley, the leader of the four-man delegation to Lusaka, said that the rationale for the talks was that "The A.N.C. plays a very important role in South Africa today and it is important for Church leaders to know what developments we can expect from them - what we might not agree with" (Cape

Times, 14 April, 1986; New Nation, 24 April, 1986). The discussions dealt with the following topics: the overall strategy of the A.N.C., the armed struggle in particular, negotiations, sanctions, post liberation policy, the A.N.C. and communism and the A.N.C.'s perception of the role of the Churches in the struggle against apartheid. Issues were clarified and the S.A.C.B.C. delegates concluded in their report that "We came away satisfied that the A.N.C. is not communist although it admits communists to its ranks and works with communists. Essentially it could be designated the spearhead of a popular liberation movement. We found some responses rather unconvincing: in the matter for instance of communists taking power; in regard to how managerial and technical skills would be found for a post liberation civil service and nationalised industry; the matter too of atrocities such as the necklace of fire. Otherwise A.N.C. delegates made out a case which is not easily dismissed especially in regard to the claim that the choice lies between apartheid and liberation and that anybody not doing anything to oppose apartheid is in fact supporting it" (Southern Cross, 4 May, 1986).

In November 1988 a top-level delegation of South African Church leaders including Archbishop Peter Buthelezi of the S.A.C.B.C. met the A.N.C. leadership in Harare. The meeting focused on uniting efforts to topple apartheid, the question of guerilla attacks on civilian targets and the possible release of Nelson Mandela and other political leaders. The Church representatives accepted a 'categorical statement from the A.N.C. that it would not attack civilian targets in future. The Church leaders and the A.N.C. called for a commitment to unity by all the people of South Africa in order to bring about a democratic society (Business Day, 28 November, 1988; Pretoria News, 26 November, 1988 and The Sowetan, 29 November, 1988). There were areas of common ground.

Although the S.A.C.B.C. and the A.N.C. share a broad commitment to democracy,

the S.A.C.B.C. has not clearly endorsed either the 'Freedom Charter' or the A.N.C.'s 'Constitutional Proposals'. The S.A.C.B.C. is also unclear as to the means of achieving a new South Africa. The ambiguity of the Church's position on sanctions and the armed struggle, important aspects of the A.N.C.s' policy and strategy, emphasized this indecision. Many of the Church's anxieties concerning the role of the communists in the national democratic struggle against apartheid and in the post-apartheid South Africa remained.

Early in 1989 at the Inter-Regional Meeting of Bishops of Southern Africa (I.M.B.I.S.A.) the Catholic bishops of nine Southern African countries gave qualified support to non-violent community protest, civil disobedience and passive resistance as methods of ending 'grave and prolonged injustice' (Weekly Mail, 27 January, 1989). However, during the protest marches throughout South Africa in late 1989, Catholic Church leaders were angered and perturbed by the presence of the 'Red Flag' of the South African Communist Party (Star, 23 September, 1989; Cape Times, 24 September, 1989; Seek, October 1989).

Archbishop Hurley said that he "was there representing my religion, and the flag is totally against everything I stand for. Communism is completely incompatible with what the freedom movement is trying to achieve" (Sunday Tribune, 24 September, 1989). Historically the Roman Catholic Church has been concerned about the atheism understood as implicit in communist doctrine and therefore of its assumed hostility to all forms of religion. It does not seem that the Church sees the broad democratic alliance extending so far to the left. The Church was always critical of the governments 'rooi gevaar' tactics which were used frequently to justify many of its policies. Instead the Church argued that society should be organised and governed in such a way that the extreme policies advocated by the communists would have no place.

E. THE 'NEW NATION' NEWSPAPER

Any discussion of the opposition of the Catholic Church to apartheid and its support for grassroots participation in the democratic process, must include some mention of the 'New Nation' newspaper. The 'New Nation' is a weekly newspaper published under the auspices of the S.A.C.B.C., by the Catholic Bishops Publishing Company. However, it is a secular newspaper. Soon after the launch of the newspaper in January 1986, Archbishop Hurley, then chairman of the S.A.C.B.C. outlined the concerns of the 'New Nation': "The lives of people in South Africa are strongly touched by political realities, so the 'New Nation' will have much to say about them. It will endeavour to speak in truth and justice, love and freedom, and contribute to the unfolding of justice and peace" (Diakonia News, March, 1986). Its purpose is "to provide particularly the black community with the means through which they can receive news that they would not ordinarily get through other newspapers, and to have an opportunity to express views which need to be aired in the climate of repression that exists in South Africa today" (Bishop Napier, president of the S.A.C.B.C. in a letter to the Southern Cross, 24 May, 1987).

The editorial policy of the 'New Nation' is one of opposition to apartheid and support for the peaceful resolution of the problems of South Africa. The newspaper does deal with religious matters in a special section, and the editor is in regular communication with the board of directors, who are members of the S.A.C.B.C. The 'New Nation' is not a specifically Catholic newspaper and has not replaced the 'Southern Cross' Catholic weekly although this was debated prior to the launch of the 'New Nation'. Bishop Napier described the 'New Nation' as a "special kind of newspaper necessary in the particular circumstances of our country today" (Southern Cross, 24 May, 1987).

The 'New Nation' filled an important void created by censorship and restrictions. However, the widely read weekly paper soon found itself the

target of much repression. In November 1987 the 'New Nation' became the first newspaper to receive a warning in terms of the media restrictions published in August 1987. Government appointed censors warned that they would take action if the paper did not cease publishing material calculated to promote the image of banned organizations and foster the growth of a revolutionary climate (Southern Cross, 27 December, 1987). The 'New Nation' was suspended from March to June 1988. The editor, Zwalakhe Sisulu, was detained without trial for two years and restricted after his release. He was also prohibited from resuming his editorship of the 'New Nation' (Cape Times, 6 December, 1988).

In late 1989 the S.A.C.B.C. sponsored newspaper was under threat of suspension once again for alleged contravention of Emergency regulations, mostly relating to promoting the image of the A.N.C. (Weekly Mail, 10 November, 1989). In defence of the 'New Nation' the S.A.C.B.C. said that the paper mirrored rather than formed opinions of its readership and stated that "to attempt to keep hidden from others this thinking and these aspirations, as if in so doing they will go away, is the height of folly" (Sowetan, 8 November, 1989; Citizen, 8 November, 1989).

The S.A.C.B.C.'s sponsorship, support and defence of the 'New Nation' was tangible evidence of its commitment to the exposure of the bankruptcy of reform and the brutality of repression and of its vision of a democratic South Africa. The production and publication of the 'New Nation' has constituted a defence of the public's right to know and was in keeping with the Church's conviction that an informed conscience is necessary in order to make proper moral decisions.

F. THE CATHOLIC RIGHTWING

However, some Catholic have a different understanding of the social role of the Church. The growth in the social commitment of the Church and its increasing opposition to apartheid has been paralleled by the emergence of a small but

The S.A.C.B.C.'s support of the 'New Nation' newspaper has been of particular concern to the T.F.P. During 1987 'Young South Africans for a Christian Civilization T.F.P.' prepared and published a booklet entitled "The New Nation and Liberation Theology - The Sad Journey of a Reader of the Newspaper Published by South African Catholic Bishops: Uneasiness, Perplexity, Disconcertedness, Anguish". This booklet was advertized as 'A critique under the Christian perspective of the most impressive sample of Liberation Theology in South Africa' (T.F.P. Newsletter, No. 28, 1987). The booklet was widely advertised and distributed. A copy was sent to the Pope together with a letter 'beseeching' his intervention "to put an end to this scandal" (Letter dated 12 March, 1987).

The Catholic bishops vehemently refuted the allegations of the T.F.P. that they are running a communist newspaper in the shape of the 'New Nation'. Bishop Napier, as president of the S.A.C.B.C. said that the views of groups such as the T.F.P. and the Catholic Defence League "corroborated the view and stance of the National Party which could not tolerate alternative views of the realities of South Africa today" (Southern Cross, 16 August, 1987).

A copy of the T.F.P.'s publication 'The New Nation and Liberation Theology' was submitted by the state to the Supreme Court to bolster its legal argument for the suspension of the 'New Nation' for a three month period in early 1988 (Echo, 31 March, 1988). Bishop Osmond, then acting-president of the S.A.C.B.C., commented that "The T.F.P. follows the practise of those in power in South Africa to use the word communism as a red herring to besmirch any attempt by those who protest against the manifest injustices of the apartheid system. There is almost a presumption that the only alternative to the present political system is a communist one" (Echo, 31 March, 1988). The controversy generated by the 'New Nation' was further evidence of deep divisions within the Church.

The T.F.P. responded to the S.A.C.B.C.'s statement 'On the Municipal Elections', which advised Catholics not to be involved in actions which served to promote the apartheid system, by accusing the bishops of being out of touch with grassroot feelings in the Church in South Africa and of becoming involved in the political arena (Citizen, 24 October, 1988). However, Catholics from all over South Africa pledged their support of the S.A.C.B.C. (Star, 4 October, 1988).

Neither the Catholic Defence League nor the T.F.P. have any official status in the Catholic Church and are not directed by ecclesiastical authority. During 1979 the S.A.C.B.C. repudiated the activities of the Catholic Defence League and pointed out the unrepresentative character of the League. The statement called upon Catholics "to recognise that the League has placed itself in strident opposition to the Bishops of the local Churches through whom their communion with the Bishop of Rome and the universal Church is assured" (S.A.C.B.C., 1979).

The membership of both the T.F.P. and the Catholic Defence League appears to be predominately white. The available literature does not suggest otherwise. The publications and newsletters of these groupings are blatantly reactionary and designed to undermine and discredit the work of progressive Catholics. While they claim to acknowledge the authority of the magisterium, their interpretation of the directives for action are extremely selective. The T.F.P. and the Catholic Defence League are politically and theologically conservative and tend to be pietistic and traditionalist. These groupings are actively resistant to change both in the Church and in the broader society. Their perception of the role of the Church in society is more in keeping with the pre-Vatican II Church and the fundamentalism of the 'Syllabus of Errors' than with modern Catholic social teaching. In spite of such an orientation the T.F.P. question the pronouncements and therefore the authority of the bishops conference.

The Aida Parker Newsletter, an organization "dedicated to presenting a viewpoint of the South African dilemma alternative to that normally presented by the 'liberal' South African and international media" published a special issue of their newsletter entitled "The Enemies Within - The Priests Take on Pretoria". The funding for this project included "a sum normally given by a Transvaal family to the Catholic Church, but this year diverted to A.P.N. 'as a protest against the militantly anti-South African stance of our own hierarchy'" (A.P.N., 1987). Conservative catholics were forming alliances with other politically conservative groupings.

F. THE THEOLOGICAL CHALLENGE

As is evident from the above the Theology of Liberation has been as controversial in South Africa as elsewhere. The issues raised by this theology have been rigorously debated within the South African Catholic Church. It has been the subject of dispute, suspicion and inspiration. Its meaning and implications have been discussed in seminars, workshops, lectures, publications, in both the religious and secular press and on the S.A.B.C. television (Cape Times, 14 October, 1986; Inter Nos, November, 1986).

The government-appointed 'Steyn Commission of Inquiry into the Mass Media' devoted a lengthy section of its final report to the 'Theology of Liberation'. The report referred to the 'Social Gospel' as "The movement whereby the Gospel was sought to be secularized and collectivized (and) was the seed whence sprang the thorny, and as to certain of its branches, also poisonous growth of Politicized Theology which has now started bearing the sinister and unhappy fruits of Theologised Politics" (Steyn Commission Report, 1981 : 499). The report charged that these "horizontal 'social gossellers' are nothing more than Soviet proxies (and) liberal misfits" (Steyn Commission Report, 1981 : 125; Villa-Vicencio in Villa Vicencio and De Gruchy, 1985 : 112 - 125).

Nevertheless, during the 1985 annual plenary session of the S.A.C.B.C. the Church hierarchy affirmed its commitment to a social gospel in terms of the Theology of Liberation (Inter Nos, January/February, 1985). Such a commitment implied an 'option for the poor'.

The challenge of the Theology of Liberation and the debate which it has generated have played an important role in the response of the Catholic Church to contemporary events in South Africa. The Theology of Liberation has helped to clarify the social role of the Church. It has also exposed the divided nature of the Church and the differing priorities of various sectors of the Church.

At the launch of the 'Institute for Contextual Theology' (I.C.T.) in June 1982, Fr. Albert Nolan outlined what such a theological approach meant within the South African context and summed it up as follows: "It wants to start from the fundamentally political character of life in South Africa; it wants to do theology quite explicitly and consciously from within the context of real life in South Africa; it wants to take fully into account the various forms of oppression that exist in South Africa - racial oppression, the oppression of the working class and the oppression of women, and finally, it wants to start from the actual experience of the oppressed themselves" (Inter Nos, August, 1982 : 6).

The most relevant and controversial contextual theology to emerge from the South African experience of the 1980's was the 'Kairos Document' which presented a theological comment on the political crisis in South Africa. Subtitled 'Challenge to the Church', the document was a critique of the current theological models which determined Church activities in addressing the problems of the country. The document attempted to come to terms with the essence of the socio-political conflict in its theological dimension. The

fundamental message of the 'Kairos Document' was that there can be no tolerance between the practitioners of apartheid and its victims and opponents. This has implications for the Church.

"What the present crisis shows up, although many of us have known it all along, is that the Church is divided. More and more people are now saying that there are in fact two Churches in South Africa - a White Church and a Black Church. Even within the same denomination there are in fact two Churches. In the life and death conflict between different social forces that has come to a head in South Africa today, there are Christians (or at least people who profess to be Christians) on both sides - and some who are trying to sit on the fence!

Does this prove that Christian faith has no real meaning or relevance for our times? Does it show that the Bible can be used for any purpose at all? Such problems would be critical enough for the Church in any circumstances but when we also come to see that the conflict in South Africa is between the oppressor and the oppressed, the crisis for the Church as an institution becomes much more acute. Both oppressor and oppressed claim loyalty to the same Church. They are both baptised in the same baptism and participate together in the breaking of the same bread, the same body and blood of Christ. There we sit in the same Church while outside Christian policemen are beating up and killing Christian children or torturing Christian prisoners to death while yet other Christians stand by and weakly plead for peace" (Kairos Document, 1985).

The document was produced by an ecumenical group of theologians who met to discuss and reflect on the role of Christians in the crisis. It was revised after wider consultation and issued on 25 September 1985. Twenty-four of the initial one hundred and fifty - one signatories were Roman Catholics. The document argues that in relation to the political crisis there are three different theologies or ways of understanding Christian faith, namely 'State Theology', 'Church Theology' and 'Prophetic Theology'. These distinctions correspond to those between 'orthodoxy', 'liberalism' and the 'theology of liberation' and name the bearers or agents of the theologies in the different categories. The document attempts to locate these theologies in their material context.

The critique of 'Church theology' is especially relevant to an analysis of the South African Catholic Church. The 'Kairos Theologians' analyse the

statements made from time to time by the 'English-Speaking' Churches and question the assumptions, implications and practicality of this theology. Particular attention is paid to the concepts of reconciliation, justice and non-violence. The document concludes that "In a limited, guarded and cautious way this theology is critical of apartheid. Its criticism however, is superficial and counter-productive because instead of engaging in an in-depth analysis of the signs of our times, it relies upon a few stock ideas derived from Christian tradition and then uncritically and repeatedly applies them to our situation".

In the document's discussion of 'Prophetic Theology' the apartheid regime is seen as tyrannical. The Churches are challenged to act in solidarity with the oppressed. The Churches are urged to participate in the struggle for liberation, to transform Church activities to promote the liberating message of God, to engage in special campaigns and even civil disobedience and to provide moral guidance.

The 'Kairos Document' was heralded in Europe and North America as the most significant Church document since the 'Barmen Declaration' protesting nazism in 1934 (Centre of Concern, Issue 80, September, 1987; Solle in Concilium, August, 1987 : 118). Many Christians in the strife torn and occupied townships of South Africa and many Christians who have long been frustrated by the frequently passive role of the institutional Church welcomed the 'Kairos Document' as a confession of faith which is both rooted in and challenges the context of economic exploitation, political oppression and violent repression.

Robin Hallett, writing in the Cape Times, suggested that the prophetic theology of the 'Kairos Document' "presents the apartheid regime with an ideological threat infinitely more powerful than any form of communism is ever likely to do, for South Africa is still a deeply Christian country" (Cape Times, 28

December, 1985). In parliament the document was termed 'a call to revolution, murder and high treason'.

How did the Catholic Church officially respond to the criticisms contained in the 'Kairos Document'? The S.A.C.B.C. welcomed the document which they found in keeping with the trend of their own pastoral orientation. The document was also welcomed for interpreting the struggle for liberation in South Africa in a Christian way.(11)

However, the S.A.C.B.C.'s response continued that the document made sweeping generalisations and its theology was sometimes superficial. Moreover the bishops felt that the document contained inconsistencies and apparent contradictions. The bishops felt that the document "goes a little far" in blaming Church leaders "for appealing to the state and the white community for justice which is not justice at all" because it is determined by the oppressor and "offered to the people as a kind concession". But the bishops conceded that they have "relied too much on appeals to the white community, obviously not seeing clearly what role the black community should play in its own liberation", and that a "special kind of Christian education is required for the pursuit of justice and liberation" (Southern Cross, 1 December, 1985; Inter Nos, Vol II, December, 1985). The 'Kairos Document' was not signed by any members of the S.A.C.B.C.

The debate generated by the 'Kairos Document' was reflected in the pages of the Southern Cross.(12) On 1 May, 1986 the S.A.C.B.C. issued a document entitled "Pastoral Reflection on Certain Issues Raised by the 'Kairos Document'". Among other things it said: "It is not enough to take as our goal the dismantling of apartheid alone. An alternative system must also be envisaged, a system that will not be a new form of oppression. It would be a mistake to conclude that the teaching of the Catholic Church can be invoked to support or encourage violence from any quarter, whether that of the oppressed or

that of the state. The weight of our teaching falls in the opposite direction, that is, to prevent or to limit violence, not to promote it" (S.A.C.B.C., 1986). The S.A.C.B.C. did not unequivocally condemn or condone the 'Kairos Document'.

However, the 'Pastoral Plan' with the theme 'Community Serving Humanity' may be seen as a sign that many of the criticisms of the institutional Churches contained in the 'Kairos Document' were being taken seriously by the Catholic Church. Prior to the drafting of the 'Pastoral Plan' a 'Pastoral Plan Working Paper' was circulated widely in parishes. The aim of this was to encourage concrete suggestions for a 'Pastoral Plan'. This was an attempt at democracy.

Archbishop Hurley described the pastoral plan as growing out "of the painful awareness that the Church has for half a century or so had its declarations and denunciations, its prophets and confessors: clergy, religious and laity; imprisoned, detained and deported. But we have had little success in translating proclamations of principles and spasmodic acts of Christian witness into a sustained process of evangelisation profoundly affecting the social body of the Church either in its black or white membership. From time to time, from place to place, religious attention has been given to South Africa's agonising problem, but never in a measure calculated to involve significant numbers of people ..." (Hurley, 1988 : 2). The Pastoral Plan, launched on Pentecost Sunday 1989, is intended to be a sustained process of evangelisation profoundly affecting the social body of the Church. The concern of the 'Pastoral Plan' is with the whole of humanity: the individual, the family and the society and in regard to society, with economics, culture and politics.

The 'Pastoral Plan' attempts to provide a vision for the Church in a rapidly changing situation. It strives to provide the Catholic Church in South Africa with a unifying vision and coherent approach to the task of evangelising the

people and institutions of this country. It is intended as a point of reference for all activities undertaken by the Church in the current circumstances. Central to the 'Pastoral Plan' is the integration of faith and life. Small groups which meet regularly for bible sharing, prayer, reflection and concern with local issues are seen as crucial.

The 'Pastoral Plan' is an attempt to develop the horizontal structures of the Church and involve the 'grassroots' more in the life and decision making processes of the Church. Moreover, it is an attempt to move beyond rhetoric and fulfil the social teaching of the Church in a very practical sense. The 'Plan' has given rise to the 'Renew Project' which seeks to implement the 'Pastoral Plan' at a parish level. An attempt is being made to transform the social relations within church structures. As Gramsci argues, a transformation of social relations in any area of civil society contributes to the eventual transformation of the state apparatuses and the re-organization of civil society.

CONCLUSION

During the 1980's there was a change in the form and content of official Catholic opposition to apartheid. There was increasing acceptance that various forms of civil disobedience and/or passive resistance were practically and morally unavoidable. The experience of three and a half decades of unrelenting apartheid had eroded the Church's faith in reconciliation and the possibility of gradual reform. Having rejected the government's reform initiatives, that is the incremental change proposed by the Nationalists, the Church was obliged to consider alternative methods of protest. Although there has been no formal approval for acts of civil disobedience, the Catholic Church has shown its support by the actions and pronouncements of many of its leaders. Members of the S.A.C.B.C. have participated in protest marches, pickets, mass rallies and political funerals. The S.A.C.B.C. manifested its solidarity with victims of

apartheid by means of the annual S.A.C.B.C. masses. Protest was no longer confined to the issuing of statements and the writing of letters. Many members of the clergy were taking to the streets with the people. Furthermore, these members of the clergy were not exempt from the repression meted out to the people of the townships of South Africa during the uprising of 1984/85 and the successive states of emergency which followed.

However, the support of the S.A.C.B.C. for other non-violent strategies of resistance has been ambiguous. Economic sanctions and disinvestment were advocated by the broad democratic movement and by many prominent Church leaders as the most effective non-violent method of bringing about social and political change in South Africa. While having sympathy for the reasoning behind this position, the S.A.C.B.C. felt that they could not give unqualified endorsement to this call. The issue of sanctions was deeply divisive within the Church as is clear from the various responses to the 'Working Paper'. In the end the S.A.C.B.C.'s position on sanctions and disinvestment was enigmatic. The Church hierarchy retreated from the issue and failed to address it adequately. This 'middle of the road' position did little to heal the rift in the Church and served to emphasize the hierarchy's reluctance to address issues which were likely to cause divisions in the Church community. This attempt to accommodate a range of incompatible perspectives was reminiscent of the Church's commitment to reconciliation, which had informed its response to apartheid during the 1960's and 1970's and which had been abandoned with great reluctance and considerable regret. It was becoming clear that the theological unity of the Catholic community was by no means a reality, and the S.A.C.B.C. was anxious not to exacerbate the divisions. This concern was also evident from the Church's attitude toward the 'armed struggle'. In spite of the 'just war' tradition the Roman Catholic Church did not officially ratify the use of violence against apartheid.

The Church increasingly questioned the moral legitimacy of the state, which clearly had no mandate from the majority of South Africans, but remained hesitant about the issues of violence and sanctions. However, this shift from opposition to apartheid to the state's right to exist facilitated greater support for alternative organizations and banned or exiled groupings - especially the A.N.C. The Church referred to the A.N.C. as a 'liberation movement' and in so doing accorded considerable legitimacy to the organization's aims and objectives. Furthermore, the Catholic Church's dealings with the A.N.C. demonstrated that this organisation was less intransigent than the South African government and more open to criticism, for example, of the use of violence against civilians/soft targets.

The Roman Catholic Church emerged from the 1970's with a deeply rooted moral commitment to the anti-apartheid struggle and the elimination of white domination in all areas. The challenge of the 1980's was to put this commitment to non-racialism and social justice into practice during a period of great turbulence and accelerated political change. The Church has challenged white hegemony and racial prejudice both in the society at large and within the Church itself and in so doing has contributed to the growing hegemony or 'intellectual and moral leadership' of the anti-apartheid forces. Although becoming part of the broad front against apartheid, the Church has paid little attention to economic issues and the economic consequences of apartheid.

The vicissitudes of politics and the increasingly violent nature of the conflict meant that the response of the Catholic Church was frequently reactive and there was little evidence of forward planning. The 'Pastoral Plan' is an attempt to remedy this imbalance and give some substance to the theological 'option for the poor'. The 'Pastoral Plan' also seeks to involve the laity to a greater degree in both the pastoral work of the Church and in decision making processes, which up to the present have remained hierarchical.

As explicitly stated in the report of the 'Steyn Commission', the South African authorities have clearly seen the 'Theology of Liberation' and the application of its principles as a threat to the hegemony of the state. The Church, however, has consistently argued that its stance on apartheid and related issues was in keeping with both scripture and the traditional social teaching of the Church.

Somewhat ironically, the T.F.P. and allied catholic groupings argue that their stance, in opposition to that of the S.A.C.B.C., is also based on the tradition and social teaching of the Church. These conservative church groupings have questioned the moral right and responsibility of the S.A.C.B.C. to involve itself in political debate. They have been particularly perturbed by the nature of the Church's political intervention. This is indicative of a sharply divided church. The Church hierarchy has also been criticized from the left for its failure to make a clear stand on issues as vital as violence and sanctions. This failure is interpreted as an attempt to placate conservative white catholics.

It seems that the more controversial and divisive an issue is, the less likely the Church is to make a decisive stand. The Church hierarchy still strives to maintain and promote the unity of the Church and of all Catholics and therefore avoids controversial issues. This often means that the wishes of white Catholics are, in the end, accommodated. The unity of the Church thus serves a role in concealing the **very** real contradictions between the different social groupings which make up the Church. Although critical of the government's policies and actions, the Church has not spoken out against those Catholics who may support these policies and actions. However, such Catholics have been extremely vociferous in their criticism of the 'church and politics'. Curiously those Catholics whose theology is conservative, pietistic and hierarchical, such as the T.F.P. and the Catholic Defence League, are the most critical of the stand taken by their pastors of the S.A.C.B.C. and seem unaware of the duplicity and

1

The 'Koornhof Bills' referred to the Orderly Movement and Settlement of Black Persons Bill; the Black Local Authorities Bill and the Black Community Development Bill.

2

The memorandum quoted 'Pacem in Terris', "Any government which refused to recognise human rights or acted in violation of them, would not only fail in its duty, its decrees would be wholly lacking in binding force" (S.A.C.B.C., 1983).

3

A consequence of the Vaal Unrest of 1984 was the arrest of 16 leaders of the U.D.F. and other organizations on charges of treason. The S.A.C.B.C. issued a statement expressing grave concern over these arrests, stating the "Talk of reform has little meaning when brave men and women are prevented in this way from striving for freedom. The crime attributed to them becomes the crime of all who share their hopes and endeavours" (Southern Cross, 28 July, 1985).

4

'Regina Mundi' Catholic Church is arguably the best known Church in South Africa. Built in 1964, the Church became a focal centre of community protest. It has been the venue for numerous commemorations since a service was held to mark the death of exile, Abram Tiro in 1974. At the silver jubilee celebrations in 1987, Dr. Ntatho Motlana described the Church as a sanctuary for the people of Soweto who had come there when harassed by the police. He said that 'Regina Mundi' was not just a Catholic Church, but "the peoples Church - the Church of the nation ... the Catholic Church has given us their Church as a meeting place. Every year since 1977 we have met here on June 16" (Southern Cross, 29 November, 1987). In a vast and populated urban area which has neither a cathedral nor a city hall, the availability of such a venue has been crucial.

5

An American priest, Fr. Casimir Paulsen, and a Franciscan priest, Fr. Wilfred Jackson, were both expelled from South Africa during 1971 because of their anti-apartheid activities. Fr. Paulsen was invited to return to the Southern African region in 1988 by the S.A.C.B.C. to work amongst anti-apartheid refugees (Southern Cross, 8 May, 1988). In June 1971 Fr. Cosmos Desmond O.F.M. was served with a five year banning order. Fr. Desmond was the author of a book entitled 'The Discarded People' which exposed the conditions in some sixty resettlement villages. The book, published by the Christian Institute, was withdrawn from circulation (S.A.I.R.R., 1971 : 50). In 1973 Fr. P. Sanders, a Dominican, was refused re-entry into South Africa after a visit abroad.

Two Soweto Catholic priests, Frs. Smangaliso Mkhathshwa and Clement Mokoka were detained shortly after the events of June 1976. In response the S.A.C.B.C. issued a statement protesting the "unjust and oppressive laws" which the Church had encountered for nearly thirty years (Balia, 1989 : 86; S.A.C.B.C., 1976). Soon after his release in June 1977, Fr. Mkhathshwa was served with a banning order. During the same period Fr. Dominic Scholten O.P., then Secretary General of the S.A.C.B.C., had his passport withdrawn and faced three charges of contravening sections of the Publications Act. Fr. Scholten had also received anonymous threatening telephone calls and the premises of the S.A.C.B.C.'s General Secretariate were searched by the Security Police. Fr. Mkhathshwa was detained again on 19 October 1977 in terms of Section 10 of the Internal Security Act. At the time he was Acting Secretary General of the S.A.C.B.C. and also Secretary General of the Episcopal Region of Southern Africa and Secretary

of the Communication Commission of the S.A.C.B.C.. In September 1977 Molatihegi Ntlokoa, full time national organiser of Y.C.W. and S.A.C.B.C. employee, was arrested in terms of Section 6 of the Terrorism Act. Several members of the Y.C.W. were detained during the course of 1978 in terms of various pieces of security legislation. In December 1978 Fr. Kuno Pauly, a priest working in the black townships of the Port Elizabeth area, was deported.

In July 1978 Fr. Heinz Hunke, the Provincial of the O.M.I. order in South West Africa, was issued with a deportation order from the territory immediately after deportation powers were granted to the Administrator General in terms of proclamation A.G.50. An S.A.C.B.C. statement on the deportation of Fr. Hunke observed that this created the impression that proclamation A.G.50 had been tailor-made for persons such as Fr. Hunke and other clergymen (S.A.C.B.C., 18 July, 1978).

6

Fr. Zithulele Patrick Mvemve was consecrated auxiliary bishop of Johannesburg on 29 June 1986.

7

In July 1983 Fr. Mkhathshwa's banning order lapsed and was not renewed. He was then able to exercise his functions as parish priest and Secretary-General of the S.A.C.B.C. more freely. He was elected a patron of the U.D.F. at its launch in August 1983. In October 1983 he was arrested in the Ciskei after addressing students at a prayer meeting at the University of Fort Hare. He was kept in solitary confinement for nearly five months before appearing in court on charges of sedition, subversion and addressing an illegal gathering. He was acquitted on all charges. An out-of-court settlement of R14 000 for unlawful arrest and detention was paid to Fr. Mkhathshwa by the Ciskei government, who also undertook the payment of all legal expenses (Southern Cross, 20 December, 1987). The Secretary-General also spent a year in detention during the first state of emergency of 1985/86. An urgent application brought by the S.A.C.B.C. for his release was dismissed on 1 August 1986. He was brutally interrogated on 20 and 21 August 1986. Details of this thirty two hour interrogation are contained in a sworn affidavit by Fr. Mkhathshwa, dated 21 August 1986, at Hercules Police Station, Pretoria. On 28 August 1986 the S.A.C.B.C. won a supreme court undertaking that no further assaults or torture would be inflicted on Fr. Mkhathshwa.

8

Fr. O'Riordan was formerly parish priest in Guguletu, Cape Town. He was transferred to the Transkei after the South African government had refused to renew his residence permit.

9

Two of the condemned, Theresa Ramashomola and Francis Mokhesi, are Catholics and active members of their parishes (Sowetan, 17 March, 1988).

10

It is pointed out in the preface that it is important to note that the publication is a report to the S.A.C.B.C. "for their guidance, comment, and use; it is not a statement by the episcopal conference" (S.A.C.B.C., 1985 : xiv).

11

The 'Call to Conscience' of 1972, the 'Declaration of Commitment' of 1977, the findings of the Pastoral Consultation of 1980 and the Pastoral Planning Working

Paper of 1984 particularly were cited (Internos vol 11 December 1985).

12

Compare the following issues of the Southern Cross: 3 November 1985; 24 November 1985; 1 December 1985; 8 December 1985; 22 December 1985; 19 January 1986; 26 January 1986; 8 May 1986; 4 October 1987.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSIONS

"The Church has a responsibility for political morality The Church must be with the majority of the people. The majority of our people are workers, poor people, disenfranchised and voiceless. Therefore, if the Church is to be credible and true to its calling, it must be where the people are. If the people are crying, the Church must cry; if they are fighting, it must fight; if they are burying, it must bury with them; and if they are happy, it must rejoice with them It is only then ... that the Church will be seen as one of the very important organizations which helped to bring about a new society" (Interview with Fr. Smangaliso Mkhathshwa, New Nation, 14 July, 1988).

"A Church committed to the cause of today's oppressed confers credibility on what faith proclaims and hope promises".

Leonardo Boff O.F.M.

In an article 'Theologies in Conflict: the South African Debate' John de Gruchy argues that for at least three reasons theology in South Africa is a matter of social consequence. Firstly, the all-pervasive role which the Christian Church has played and continues to fulfil within society; secondly, the fact that since European colonisation commenced in the seventeenth century conflicting socio-political and economic interests have been sanctioned by religious conviction; and thirdly, the significant though ambivalent role which Christians and Churches play in the struggle both for and against apartheid in contemporary South Africa (de Gruchy in Villa-Vicencio and de Gruchy, 1985 : 85). The Church, its theologies, structures and practices are of sociological concern. De Gruchy's points are as relevant to the Roman Catholic Church in South Africa as to any other denomination or religious grouping. The concern of this dissertation has been to explore the social and political role of the Catholic Church in contemporary South Africa. It has attempted to ask and answer Fromm's question as outlined in Chapter One 'What kind of religion is it' and which social interests does it promote?.

Various approaches to the Sociology of Religion were discussed. Durkheim's classical sociological understanding of religion was outlined. Durkheim saw religion as a fundamentally social phenomenon which plays an important role in the promotion of social cohesion and group solidarity. Durkheim's approach to the sociological study of religion emphasizes its functional role in society. It does not adequately explain social conflict or its causes. Also such an approach does not allow for the potentially dysfunctional or dissenting aspects of religion. However, in spite of its limitations Durkheim's theory does suggest that religion reflects the society in which it exists. In discussing the functional role of religion Durkheim describes many of the social roles and functions performed by religion in society and this is helpful in the examination of a particular religious grouping. While religious rites sustain

collective ideals, an adequate understanding of the social totality of religion would have to allow for the possibility that the collective ideals of a religious group may not be homogenous. This suggests a further question regarding what kind of collective ideals are being promoted by a particular religious grouping and how homogenous they actually are.

The concern of Weber's sociology of religion was the role of religion in society in terms of the consequences for everyday life and social behavior in different historical circumstances. The role of religion may change through time. Religious beliefs legitimize particular or distinct group interests. The question is which social group's interests are being legitimated. While religion has played a role in legitimizing group interests, the legitimated interests are not always of the same group. Furthermore, conflicting social interests may be legitimated. Weber's theory offers a useful framework for the understanding of the role of religion in society and the impact of religion on society, but it does not adequately address the issue of social conflict or the role of religion in social conflict .

Weber's 'Church type' typology was outlined. It is characterized by four features - a professional priesthood, a catholicity which overrides national or ethnic divisions, the rationalization of dogma and the adherence to particular rituals and practices, and an organizational framework and hierarchy. Although such a definition explains religion in a fairly sociologically limited sense, it encompasses important aspects of the Catholic Church's self understanding as discussed in Chapter Two.

Contemporary sociologists have commented on the process of secularization which has undermined traditional religious hegemony in society and thus lessened the impact of religion on society. However, remnants of religious influence remain.

Berger asserts that religion has played and continues to play an important role as a system of social legitimation. Legitimation is defined as socially objectivated knowledge which serves to explain and justify the social order. Berger also points to the ambiguous social role played by religion saying that it appears in history both "as a world maintaining and as a world shaking force" (Berger, 1969 : 106). The Church has the potential to favour and promote various and even conflicting social interests. Similarly Troeltch argued that religion has both compromising and uncompromising dimensions.

It was pointed out that the Catholic Church in South Africa must be understood in terms of its colonial and missionary history. The Church has been influenced by the traditions, theologies and institutions of a colonial past. In the main, the Catholic Church, along with the other Christian Churches, collaborated in the colonial enterprise. The commercial and military expansion of 'European Christian Civilization' was perceived as a providential opportunity for evangelism. Ecclesiastical structures, organization and practices reflected those of Catholic Europe. Spirituality was legalistic and pietistic, while there was a strong emphasis on 'the next world'. Many of the social customs and practices of the Catholic Church reflected those of colonial settler society. There is little evidence of any attempt by the Catholic Church to distance itself from the processes of colonial conquest and white domination.

However, colonialism and evangelism; conquest and missionization and the isolation of the Catholic Church in a predominately Calvinist society were not the only factors shaping the social contribution of the Catholic Church in South Africa. The history of the Catholic Church in this country emphasizes the two traditions in Christian history of which Troeltch wrote. These two traditions are held in dynamic tension and are a source of latent conflict. 'Compromising religion', usually associated with the institutional Church, accepts or at least does not question the secular order and, in so much as it

is prepared to conform, becomes part of the dominant social order. The history of the Church in South Africa is essentially one of compromise with increasingly uncompromising aspects. While it could not be argued that the Catholic Church has stood outside or apart from the colonial, racist and apartheid order, there have been issues over which it has refused to compromise.

COMPROMISE AND DISSENT

It was pointed out that Catholic institutions such as schools, hospitals, seminaries and convents were segregated before the Nationalist party came to power and enforced racial segregation. The response of the Catholic Church to the introduction of the policy of apartheid was discussed. Although the early Catholic Church statements on 'Race Relations' condemned apartheid they were cautious and reformist in tone. These statements appealed to whites and to the government to change. In practice, if not in spirit, apartheid laws were accepted. Apartheid also considerably undermined the missionary work of the Church. However, there were two issues during the early years of apartheid over which the Catholic Church refused to compromise - the Black Catholic schools and the 'Church Clause' of the Native Laws Amendment Act which were discussed in Chapter Four.

The introduction of the Bantu Education Act struck at the heart of Catholic missionary endeavour. Much has been made of the clash between the Church and state over the issue of the schools. However, it is clear that Catholic resistance to this move was not due to the nature of Bantu Education, but rather due to the Act's interference with the provision of Catholic education for black Catholic children. The concern was for the preservation of the Church's own structures. Twenty years were to pass before the Church confronted the state over the content of black education.

The strenuous opposition of the Catholic Church to the Bantu Education Act and the 'Church Clause' of the Native Laws Amendment Act illustrate that the Church is more likely to adopt an uncompromising position towards those manifestations of apartheid which directly affect and threaten its institutional autonomy and functioning than those with more general application. Also the content of the opposition of the Church to these acts was religious rather than political. Concern could be expressed in terms of religious freedom in particular rather than human rights in general.

It should be noted that the 'Black Catholic Schools' issue did in fact involve some compromises - the schools were obliged to register with the Bantu Education Department and to adhere to the syllabi of this department. However, in the face of the successful and ruthless implementation of apartheid legislation the opposition of the Catholic Church to these particular laws cannot be dismissed as insignificant. Furthermore, this opposition was not unsuccessful. The 'Church Clause' was never strictly implemented and the Catholic Mission schools did not close.

The mass campaigns of defiance of the 1950's did not impinge on the life of the Church. Catholic opposition to apartheid was essentially cautious and conciliatory. It was a period of 'Restrained Protest'. Bishop Mandlenkhosi Zwane's remarks are an apt description of the Church during this period.

"History, I fear, when assessing the impact of the Church on the political realities of today, where a dominant white minority impose their will on a large majority of blacks, will come to the conclusion that the same racist attitudes pervade Church and State. If the hierarchy is not condemned for its actual support of the structures of oppression it will easily be accused of a play-safe policy" (S.A.C.B.C., 1980). There was little criticism of the practice of apartheid within Church structures. There were separate church institutions for blacks and whites. Segregation was, in fact, practiced in the Church. The

Catholic Church was to use Villa-Vicencio's phrase 'Trapped in Apartheid'. It was burdened by the traditions, ideologies and institutions of a colonial and racist past.

However, the years following the enforcement of apartheid saw a gradual but significant reassessment of the social role of the Catholic Church in apartheid society. This was accompanied by a growing awareness of the Church's own 'apartheid' practices and hence of its complicity with the dictates of the broader secular society. Such complicity compromised the unity and catholicity of the Church.

An important challenge to the paternalism and racism of the Catholic Church in South Africa came from the Black Consciousness Movement and from black priests and religious who denounced the Church's predominately white, ex-patriate power structures. They voiced resentment about discrimination against black clergy and laity. These grievances were clearly articulated in a manifesto. The protest focused on the subordinate role of black priests in Church structures and institutions, the unequal distribution of resources and the paternalistic attitudes of many priests and religious. Race Relations within the Church were clearly in need of reform. White domination within the Church was questioned. The 'pretence' of the Catholic Church that it opposed apartheid was condemned. The Church was called on to expedite 'Africanization' and challenged to give some substance to its anti-apartheid rhetoric. The 1977 'Statement on Commitment' was an attempt to meet this challenge.

The issue of separate Catholic schools for blacks and whites was addressed again. The 'Open Schools' issue of the 1970's challenged apartheid education, rather than simply non-catholic education. The difference in content between the Church's opposition to Bantu education during the 1950's and the 1970's indicates an important transition within the Church. However, the events of

1976 tended to rob it of significance. Nevertheless, the 'Open Schools' initiative made a contribution to the development of non-racialism in both the Catholic schools and the Church in general.

Gradually the Church was refusing to compromise with the structures of apartheid in terms of its own institutions, structures and practices. This process has been slow and uneven. The Church was also prepared to support and protest the rights of others who refused to compromise. Increasingly the Church recognized that individuals and organizations had the moral right and even the duty to dissent.

The Catholic Church's experience of direct repression has been limited. Unlike the U.D.F. and many associated groupings, it has not been a target of state repression. However, individuals within the Church have been victims of state repression in various forms including detention, torture, deportation and harassment. The Church has protested the rights of these Catholics and expressed solidarity with them, but the everyday running of the Church has not been affected.

The actions of certain individuals and Church organizations stand out as particularly uncompromising, for example Frs. Cosmas Desmond, Kuno Pauly, Wilfred Jackson and Smangalis Mkhathshuwa. Over the years many Church activists were detained. Archbishop Hurley refused to recant his statements on the Namibian situation. The support of the S.A.C.B.C. for the 'New Nation' newspaper, an obvious target of repression, has been unequivocal.

Another important area of dissent has been the issue of compulsory military service in the S.A.D.F. Since 1974, conscientious objection has been a major point at which Church and state have confronted each other over the issue of violence in South Africa. Also from the perspective of the Church, conscripts faced a crisis of conscience in that they were involved in a situation where

their intrinsic right to freedom of conscience was ignored and overruled. The Church declared that freedom of conscience must be respected at all times and in all situations. The support of the Catholic Church and other Churches played a seminal role in the formation of the war resistance movement in South Africa. The debate that had begun within the Churches spilled over into the wider society. The 'End Conscription Campaign' was launched and the Declaration to End Conscription was endorsed by a wide range of organizations including the S.A.C.B.C. Although the Church has supported the rights of conscientious objectors and questioned the justice of defending an unjust society, it did not actively encourage or promote conscientious objection. Furthermore, while the right of conscience has always been premised by the assumption of an informed conscience i.e. a conscience fully aware of the options and choices available, few programmes and structures have been established to facilitate this process.

Throughout this dissertation it has been argued that the realities of apartheid society have had a profound impact on the Church and served to jolt the Church out of its complacency. The response of the Church to the related processes of reform, repression and resistance were examined. It emerged that the Catholic Church in South Africa has moved from a position of cautious and qualified criticism of apartheid to a position of clear condemnation of this policy in any form.

It is evident from the preceding chapters that the Church's championship of human rights in the face of racial oppression has been increasingly clear and unambiguous. The Church has declared its opposition to racial segregation, forced removals, Bantu Education, the Pass Laws and the violation of civil liberties. It is committed to the removal of all forms of racial oppression and supports the right of the majority to decide the country's future. The Church no longer advocates a policy of incremental change and has repudiated the government's reform initiatives.

The Church's support for some of the strategies employed in the struggle against apartheid has sometimes been tentative. This has been particularly the case regarding the issues of sanctions and the armed struggle of the A.N.C. The observations of a Chilean activist are pertinent "The Church has a preferential option for the poor, but not for the struggle of the poor" (Latinamerica Press, Vol. 19 No 27, 16 July, 1987). While the Church has expressed solidarity with the victims of apartheid it has not yet unconditionally endorsed the struggle against apartheid.

THE UNITY OF THE CHURCH

The foregoing discussion confirms that the Roman Catholic Church in South Africa is not a monolithic, undifferentiated and rigid institution. It reflects the socially divided character of the broader society. The membership of the Church is black and white, poor and rich, the disenfranchised and those with political rights, working class and middle class, employees and employers, progressives and conservatives. The discussions, crises and tensions of the broader society are reflected in the Church. The socially divided character of the Church undermines its theological unity. Although all Catholics share common rituals and beliefs and adhere to the same religious practices, the realities of apartheid society have severely encroached upon and compromised the institutional unity of the Church. This has been the theme of much of the critique of the Church both from within and without. Linden's judgement of the Catholic Church in Rhodesia is relevant to the Church in South Africa "The Church's sacramental life ended at the Church door where the inhumanity and injustice of Rhodesian society began" (Linden, 1980 : 177).

This theme of the compromised unity of the Church is one of the major issues explored by the Theology of Liberation. These insights are among the main contributions of this theology to our understanding of the Church. Gustave

Gutierrez, one of the pioneer theologians of liberation wrote "There are some Christians among the oppressed and persecuted and others among the oppressors and the persecutors. Some among the tortured and others among the torturers or those who condone torture. Thus there is occurring a grave and radical confrontation between Christians who suffer injustice and exploitation and those who benefit from the established order. Under these contradictions life in the Christian community is full of difficulties and conflicts" (Gutierrez, 1974 : IX).

These same sentiments were echoed and reiterated by the 'Kairos Theologians' in the South Africa of 1985:

"... The Church is divided ... In the life and death conflict between different social forces that has come to a head in South Africa today, there are Christians on both sides of the conflict ... Such problems would be critical enough for the Church in any circumstances but when we also come to see that the conflict in South Africa is between the oppressor and the oppressed, the crisis for the Church as an institution becomes much more acute. Both oppressor and oppressed claim loyalty to the same Church. They are both baptised in the same baptism and participate together in the breaking of the same bread, the same body and blood of Christ. There we sit in the same Church while outside Christian policeman and soldiers are beating up and killing Christian children or torturing Christian prisoners to death while yet other Christians stand by and weakly plead for peace The Church is divided against itself" (The Kairos Document, 1985).

Houtart and Rosseau, in writing about the position of the French Catholic hierarchy regarding the events of Paris, 1968, observe that the hierarchy found themselves in the crossfire of pressure from contradictory tendencies within the ranks of the Catholic faithful. The diverse experiences of Catholics at the time splintered the Church's facade of unity (Houtart and

Rousseau, 1970 : 297)). This describes the experience of the Church and of Christians in various instances of social conflict including that of South Africa.

The ideal of Catholic unity deflects attention from the reality that there are real social differences in the Church. Also in projecting a harmonious, united image the Church may symbolically conceal or displace the social conflict inherent in the society, while at the same time attempting to prevent a breach which would internally or symbolically undermine it. However, eventually the situation becomes thus that the Church can no longer either believe in or consistently maintain the facade of unity. The realities and tensions in society and in the Church become clear. This was the experience of the Catholic Church in the South Africa of the 1980's. Catholics from both the left and the right acknowledge that the Church is experiencing a crisis which has seriously compromised its unity.

The realization of social conflict within the Church has not come easily as is evident from the events discussed in Chapters Four and Five. Moreover the concern for the maintenance of Church unity underlined the Church's repeated calls for reconciliation. This concern has also informed the Church's stand on the issues of sanctions and violence. A Church fearful of damaging its assumed unity as a Church of both the rich and the poor, blacks and whites, the middle class and the working class, the conservative and the progressive, cannot commit itself ideologically. The Church has to come to terms with the reality that it cannot be equally committed to all its socially diverse members. The Church is neither outside nor above social conflict and the conflict taking place in the broader society is mirrored in the Church.

Another consequence of this emphasis on the supposed unity and catholicity of the Church is that Church statements presume that the theological formulation

of the unity of the Church is in fact a reality. The result is that frequently Church statements lack unity and accuracy and the proposals for action are vague. As Nolan points out that "In the final analysis, the insistent pursuit of an illusory neutrality in every conflict is a way of siding with the oppressor" (Nolan, 1986 : 6). As discussed in Chapter Five the more controversial an issue the less likely the Church is to make a clear and unambiguous statement. The Church remains fearful of conflict and hopes to accommodate a wide spectrum of political and social positions. Mayson argues that this hope rests on an incorrect assesment of the role of the Church. He stresses that "There is only one struggle in South Africa and this is the struggle of the people for liberation and it is our task to join in that struggle. The struggle is not to find ways in which to talk to the South African government: they will always turn such strategies to their advantage. The struggle is to find ways in which we may compel the South African government to talk with us. There is no other struggle except the struggle to be rid of oppression and bring all the representatives of South Africa to the round table to decide our future together. Liberation is a prerequisite of reconciliation, not the result of it" (Mayson, 1985 : 101; Balia, 1989 : 123). The Church was reluctant to acknowledge this reality.

However, during the 1980's, the Church showed increasing willingness to take cognizance of the diverse and often conflicting social interests of Church members. The Church was challenged in this regard by both the left, in the form of 'Black Consciousness' and other progressive Church groupings, and from the Catholic rightwing.

The S.A.C.B.C. has experienced much opposition from rightwing groupings within the Church. This opposition has found organized expression in such groups as the Catholic Defence League and Tradition, Family and Property (T.F.P.). These groupings have challenged the right of the Church hierarchy to make

pronouncements on matters pertaining to public morality. Both these organizations have engaged in concerted attempts to undermine the authority of the S.A.C.B.C. and the projects which the conference supports, for example, 'The New Nation' newspaper. The Catholic rightwing is vehemently opposed to the Theology of Liberation. Ironically, the T.F.P. insists that its stance is informed by and loyal to the teachings of the Catholic magisterium - that is, the same teachings which inform the pronouncements and activities of the S.A.C.B.C.. The attitudes and activities of the Catholic rightwing have helped to expose the myth of the unity of the Church.

On the other hand the Church has frequently been criticized for lack of relevance and a failure to address the injustices of South African society. The criticisms contained in the 'Kairos Document' are relevant here. Most of criticism of the Church from the perspective of the left have come from within the Church itself and from anti-apartheid ecumenical groupings. The Catholic Church is experiencing a crisis of identity in South Africa. The relevance and meaning of the pastoral work of the Church is being called into question by the context in which the Church finds itself.

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH AND SOCIAL LEGITIMATION

The review of the literature suggested that the Church has the potential to favour and promote various and even conflicting social interests. Baum describes this in terms of a conflict between the logic of mission and the logic of maintenance. He draws on the sociology of organization. Both logics are operative in and essential to every organization, but are inevitably in some tension. The logic of mission deals with the aims, purposes and direction of an organization i.e. that for which it was established originally. The logic of maintenance deals with the well-being and support of the organization itself, its upkeep, security and perpetuation (Baum, 1987).

The Church's social teaching, as outlined in Chapter Three, tends to be informed by the logic of mission. Baum therefore proposes that many of the contradictions in the Catholic Church are due to the as yet unresolved conflicts between the logic of mission and the logic of maintenance. When the logic of maintenance separates itself from the logic of mission this undermines the maintenance of the organization. It also compromises the social teaching of the Church and that of the various national bishops conferences such as the S.A.C.B.C. The logic of maintenance demands: firstly, that the Church protect its international unity and this often prompts the Vatican to disregard the principle of subsidiarity which is a constitutive element of Catholic social teaching; secondly, that the Church protect its internal cohesion, and this often prompts the Vatican and regional bishops conferences to condemn class struggle and social conflict in terms at odds with the new teaching on solidarity with and option for the poor; thirdly, that the Church protect the authority of the ecclesiastical government, and this often prompts the Church hierarchy to speak out in a manner that contradicts the new teaching on human beings as subjects; and fourthly, that the Church protect its economic base, and this often prompts popes and bishops to manifest their actual solidarity with the rich and powerful sectors of society, which is at odds with the newly defined 'preferential' option for the poor (Baum, 1987 : 234-240). The pastoral practice of the Church, although appearing non-partisan, does reflect social and political options and biases. The pastoral priorities of the Church are unclear and confused. The demands of the logic of maintenance are often at variance with those of the logic of mission - usually to the detriment of the latter.

The preceding chapters suggest that some of the policies, teachings and social practice of the South African Catholic Church serve to reproduce and reinforce the existing societal relations of domination, while others undermine the same

and point toward a transformation of social relations in a democratic society. The Church thus performs a contradictory role in social reproduction.

While it is clear that the Catholic Church played a role in the social legitimation of the colonial order and by its silence contributed to the legitimation of the apartheid order, during the last two decades the Church has attempted to discard this role and has challenged the established order. This is evidenced by the S.A.C.B.C's. rejection of the 'Reform Initiatives', the Orderly Movement Bill, South Africa's occupation of Namibia, by its publication of the 'Report on Police Conduct' and its denunciation of the 'Emergency Measures'. There is a progressive shift in emphasis from the white Catholic minority to the black Catholic majority; from reform and reconciliation to transformation and justice. The Church can be seen to be moving away from a position of tacit complicity with the processes and practice of apartheid, toward one of increasing conflict with the state. This process was traced in Chapters Four and Five.

In Chapter One the issue of the legitimizing potential of religion when linked to political ideologies was raised (Berger, 1969; Houtart and Rousseau, 1970; Laitin, 1986; Smith, 1970; Weber, 1967; Yinger, 1970). The foregoing chapters indicate that religion, in this instance Roman Catholicism, which in the past contributed to the legitimation of the 'status quo' can be reinterpreted to give positive ideological support and encouragement to secular political movements committed to basic social transformation. There are clear areas of intersection between traditional and contemporary Catholic social teaching and the principles and aims of anti-apartheid groupings. This congruence has made it easier for the Church, known for its sectarianism, to align itself with these groupings. Apartheid was increasingly seen by the Church as anathema to the spirit and message of the gospel and the teachings of the Church.

It is clear that religion is not necessarily reactionary. Religion does provide social legitimation, but the nature of this legitimation is not predetermined and is itself subject to transformation. The Church is, therefore, also a site of struggle in that there is a struggle for hegemony between different social forces in the Church as in the society. The Church also reflects the character of resistance in South African society.

The review of the literature of the Church in other situations of social upheaval (for example, Bradstock, 1987; Linden, 1982; Houtart and Rousseau, 1970; Smith, 1970) and of the experience of other Christian Churches in South Africa (Cochrane, 1987; de Gruchy, 1982; Villa-Vicencio, 1987) suggests that it is not possible to describe the movement away from a colonial missionary model Church to a Church of and for the poor as a single, coherent process. Rather this process has been gradual, uneven, sometimes confused and even contradictory, reflecting a diversity of perceptions, experiences and theological approaches.

The response of the Church to the conflicts and divisions of South African society has been ambivalent and contradictory. This is evidenced by the teachings, pastoral practice and theology of the Church. These are in turn shaped by differing perceptions of the role of the Church in society. This ambivalence reflects a conflict between sacramentalism and evangelism, between a pre and post Vatican II model of the Church, between theological orthodoxy and theological orthopraxis, between a western colonial Church and a Church of the people. There is a struggle in the Church for a particular definition of Christianity and the relationship of the Church to the political struggles in society. This crisis within the Church concerns the ideological content and pastoral practice of Roman Catholicism in South Africa.

Houtart and Rousseau observe there is often a paradoxical conflict between the

Christian message and the work for human liberation. The message and practice of Christianity have not always been for the realization of human freedom. In fact, frequently, the reverse is true. In attempting to explain this issue they point out that often contradictory social groupings with different material interests exist within the Church. The result is conflict and division within the Church. The controversy generated by the sanctions issue is a case in point. The eventual position adopted by the S.A.C.B.C. regarding this issue attempted to accommodate these various and conflicting social and material interests. The T.F.P. and allied Christian groupings deny that the involvement of the Church in the struggle against apartheid is in keeping with the Christian message. They argue instead that it is the responsibility of the hierarchy to condemn the 'freedom struggle' as anathema. Conflicting demands are being made of the Church.

Houtart and Rousseau note that at the beginning and at the end of the French Revolution, the Church lived in relative harmony with the dominant social groupings - even though these groupings had only their respective dominance in common. It therefore seems that the Church is able to accommodate various social interests at different times and even at the same time. This process is not automatic. The intervening period will be fraught with conflict. The Church is characterized by conflict during periods of social upheaval and transition. This has clearly been the experience of the South African Catholic Church during the past four decades. Commenting on the 'Role of Christians in the Present Political Crisis in South Africa' Fr. Mkhathshwa, then General Secretary of I.C.T., quoting from Gramsci, pointed out that "We are in a state of transition from dismantling apartheid to social reconstruction. This transitional state has obviously generated many ambiguities, dilemmas and paradoxes" (New Nation 27 July, 1990).

During the pre-1948 apartheid era the Catholic Church did not have very much to say about race relations or the general social conditions of the majority of the people who lived in South Africa . The Catholic Church was conscious of being isolated in and tolerated by a predominately Calvinist society and therefore was anxious not to draw attention to itself. Moreover, racial segregation was a feature of the Church itself. The ideal of 'Christendom' pervaded the ecclesiology and social ethic of the pre-Vatican II Church in South Africa. The scope for charity seemed almost dependent on social inequality. The attention of the Vatican was still caught up with events in Europe. The S.A.C.B.C. was established only during the years following 1948 and until the 1953 Bantu Education Act the attitude of the Church toward those in authority remained conciliatory (Abraham, 1989).

The review of the literature suggested that religion has frequently provided legitimation for resistance to established rule. In South Africa the endorsement by the Catholic Church of many anti-apartheid campaigns and the Church's repeated denunciation of repression have lent the anti-apartheid struggle both legitimacy and credibility. During the worst years of repression the voice of the Church was particularly important. The Church's witness to and limited experience of direct repression has facilitated a growth in political militancy. Many of the Church's concerns and goals are held in common with a wide variety of other secular, religious and political groupings. The point of unity between the Church and these other groupings is their common opposition to apartheid. However, these groupings may oppose apartheid for different reasons, identify different priorities and employ different methods. It is important to acknowledge these differences. In spite of the openness of Vatican II, the input of Liberation Theology, the Church's positive perception of the A.N.C. and support for national resistance to apartheid the South African Catholic Church remains deeply suspicious of communism. The response of Catholic Church leaders

to the display of the 'Red Flag' of the South African Communist Party at the 1989 'Freedom Marches' graphically illustrates this. Such an attitude is strongly reminiscent of 'Divini Redemptoris' and the mistrust of modernism characteristic of the pre-Vatican II Church which was discussed in Chapter Two. The Church assumed an extremely proscriptive posture towards other marchers, while apparently upholding the right to free association. The long-held Catholic suspicion of communism, class conflict and atheism remain inhibiting factors in the Church's unequivocal support for the liberation movement as was discussed in Chapter Five.

While the response of the Church to the anti-apartheid movement has sometimes been critical and hesitant, the role of an independant newspaper such as the 'New Nation' cannot be underestimated.

Smith's work on the role of religion in transitional societies, especially in relation to anti-colonial nationalist movements, also suggested that the Church has frequently provided instances of leadership and the Catholic Church in South Africa has shown some limited instances of leadership. While Church leaders have not been involved in political organizations, individuals have played an important role in speaking out against apartheid and condemning repression. The Church leadership has also affirmed the words of others opposed to apartheid and encouraged others to speak out. Certain Catholics such as Archbishop Denis Hurley and Fr. Smangalis Mkhathshwa have become prominent in the broad anti-apartheid movement. Catholics have also played important roles in Christian organizations such as the Institute for Contextual Theology (I.C.T.), the Young Christian Students (Y.C.S.) and the Young Christian Workers (Y.C.W.). However, in spite of the above, it cannot be argued that the Catholic Church has played a critical role in providing leadership in the anti-apartheid struggle.

Smith also suggested that in many instances the Church has provided encouragement to forces in opposition to foreign rulers. Here the S.A.C.B.C. 'Report on Namibia' is particularly pertinent. In the report the occupation of South West Africa/Namibia by South Africa was condemned as illegal and S.W.A.P.O. was seen as the legitimate representative of the majority of the people in Namibia. In spite of pressure from the South African government, the S.A.C.B.C. refused to repudiate any part of the report. In a similar vein the S.A.C.B.C. consistently condemned the destabilization of the Southern African region by the S.A.D.F. Cross-border raids were vehemently condemned. The electric fence along the South African - Mozambican border was the focus of repeated concern. The Catholic Church also gave assistance to refugees from Renamo. A commission for refugees was established. The 'Report on Police Conduct During Township Unrest' likened the actions of the police and the security forces to those of an occupying army.

While the structural or institutionalized violence of the apartheid system and state repression have been denounced, the Church has not endorsed the armed struggle against apartheid. The Catholic Church does not have a pacifist tradition and contemporary social teaching, which was discussed in Chapter Three, has confirmed the 'just war' position, but these criteria have not been applied to the activities of 'Umkhonto We Sizwe'. The issue of violence is a deeply divisive and contentious one within the Church. The Church has a tendency to condemn violence in general rather than in specific terms. The Church has condemned A.N.C. bomb attacks in much the same terms as cross-border raids. The difference in content between 'aggressive' and 'defensive' violence has not been addressed. However, the Church has been sympathetic to and supportive of those who have objected to service in the S.A.D.F. on selective rather than pacifist grounds. The Church has repeatedly called for peace and prayed for reconciliation. Little has been said about the content of peace and

how, in the face of seemingly unrelenting conflict and violence, peace can be attained. Modern Catholic social teaching has increasingly seen justice as a prerequisite for peace. Gradually and in keeping with this emphasis, the Church's opposition to apartheid has changed from a plea for peace and reconciliation to a demand for peace with justice.

A discussion of the legitimizing potential of the Catholic Church in South Africa should mention that the Catholic Church has never provided a theological justification for apartheid nor has it formed clear alliances with those in power. The controversy regarding the issue of military chaplaincy is relevant. It was argued that by the Church's participation in S.A.D.F. structures, it was according these structures legitimacy and was indicative of an implicit support of the defence force and its role in South African society. In the face of escalating civil unrest and the deployment of troops in the townships, Catholic priests were withdrawn from the chaplaincy of the S.A.D.F. This was indicative of a shift in pastoral priorities and an awareness both of the nature of the border conflict and the invidiousness of S.A.D.F. troop deployment in the townships.

THE INFLUENCE OF CATHOLIC SOCIAL TEACHING

The Social Teaching of the Universal Church has influenced both the teachings and practice of the Catholic Church in South Africa. As is evident from Chapter Three, the post conciliar years have been characterized by an openness to ecumenism and dialogue with other faiths and by a more pluralist approach to the theology and institutional organization of the Church. There has also been an even increasing awareness of the need for greater assertion of the Church's social teaching both within the Church itself and in the broader society. The Church's social teaching cannot continue to be 'Our Best Kept Secret'.

Vatican II had provided an incentive for ecclesiastical renewal and the

transcending of divisions between the religious and the secular, the spiritual and the temporal, the Church and the world. It made new theological beginnings legitimate and possible. Also the social teachings of the post conciliar period placed new emphasis on human rights in the official pronouncements of the Catholic Church. The need for peace and social justice was increasingly seen as the concern of the Church. There was an attempt to correct the overdeveloped 'vertical' or hierarchical structures of the Church and concentrate on building more 'horizontal' or democratic relationships and structures. Vatican II marked a critical turning point in the history of the Church and the local Churches everywhere were challenged to implement the norms and spirit of the council in their particular context.

Events in the Catholic Church in South Africa must be understood in the light of the above. The emphasis of the council had been pastoral and presented the following challenge: if according to Vatican II salvation included deliverance from oppression and injustice, what was the Church to do in a blatantly unjust society? The basic tenets of Catholic Social teaching are considerably undermined by the everyday experience of most South African Catholics. How can the dignity of the human person be respected, maintained and promoted in apartheid society? The realities of apartheid society are the concern of the Church and the Church has both the right and the responsibility to comment on socio-political issues.

The statements, pastoral letters and reports of the S.A.C.B.C. are a Southern African response to the documents of the magisterium on social justice. They have attempted to relate the themes of those teachings to the realities of this society. They highlight needs, touch the conscience and call for action. However, they are not particularly prescriptive in terms of programmes. The stated concern of the Church for social justice does not yet pervade the life of the Church. The Church does not have a clear programme of pastoral action and

its approach is frequently reactive. Furthermore, the Church's actions are not always consistent with its own stated principles and intentions. The directives of the Vatican Council II and the social magisterium are not always observed. There is a correlation between the major concerns of the social teaching of the Church in general and that of the South African hierarchy, as for example, in concern for the family. The 'Statement on Migrant Labour' issued by the S.A.C.B.C. in the early 1970's focused on how this system of labour compromised the sanctity of the family. The suspicious attitude of the S.A.C.B.C. to socialism and communism reflects that of the Vatican.

Gradually the Catholic Church has become less sectarian. The increased participation by the Church in opposition to apartheid has resulted in more contact with other Christian denominations and ecumenical groupings, as well as more contact with secular organizations concerned with human rights and civil liberties. These contacts have contributed to a breakdown of the isolation of the Catholic Church in a predominately Calvinist society. There have been important changes in the Church's self-understanding and perception of its role in, and pastoral mission to, society. There has been increasing emphasis on what Dulles termed the 'Servant' model of the Church (Dulles, 1976) and on the preaching of the 'Social Gospel'. In this post missionary and post Vatican II period, there has been a gradual moving away from a Western ecclesiastical model of the Church, which had hitherto characterized the practice of the Church, to a concern for social justice and human rights.

Vatican II had defined the mission of the Church as service to the whole human community in the creation of a just and peaceful world. Liberation Theology attempted to define the role of the Christian community in society from the perspective of the third world. The theological shift from Vatican II to Liberation Theology was a shift from a liberal concern for the poor to a

radical solidarity with the poor, that is the 'preferential option for the poor'. There has been a corresponding shift in the teaching and pastoral practice of the Roman Catholic Church in South Africa.

SOCIAL SOLIDARITY AND THE 'OPTION FOR THE POOR'

Berger argued that the sociology of religion has demonstrated that there is a close relationship between religion and social solidarity. Many of the changes that have taken place in the Church point to the fostering of a new social solidarity. Dorr described this as a movement away from an alliance with power to an option for the poor (Dorr, 1983). The annual S.A.C.B.C. Masses are a dramatic example of this trend. Traditional religious symbols, which play an important role in the fostering of social solidarity, are transformed rendering them meaningful in terms of the everyday life experience of many Catholics. Durkheim, Weber and Yinger all emphasize ritual as an important dimension of religion. Ritual promotes collective ideals. Actions such as the S.A.C.B.C. Masses enhance the solidarity of the oppressed. They are also visible signs that the Church identifies with the people during times of trial.

Through its increasing opposition to and experience of the processes of apartheid the Catholic Church is developing a more contextual theology.

HIERARCHICAL AUTHORITY STRUCTURES

The structure of the Catholic Church in South Africa remains hierarchical and this undercuts the importance of grassroots participation. Resistance should have more than one aim; firstly, success and secondly, growth in democratic organizational structures. The latter aspect of Catholic resistance to apartheid requires development. Furthermore, contemporary Catholic teaching advocates greater collegiality and grassroots participation. The 'Pastoral Plan' is an attempt to address these issues.

The hierarchical nature of the Catholic Church and the corresponding

distribution of roles and power frequently have led to an ecclesiocentric social and political response on behalf of the Church. This response is not always communicated to the grassroots members of the Church.

These vertical authority structures and procedures have certain advantages. They allow the Church to respond to events immediately and without consultation; to protest vociferously and with authority; to make financial and other resources available with relative ease. However, such methods are inherently undemocratic and in no way assure corresponding unanimity on behalf of the Church membership or influence the everyday life of the Church. The undemocratic and clerical nature of the Church encourages passivity and limits the participation of the laity. While the Church strives to speak out on behalf of human rights in society, it remains unwilling to redress some of the injustices within the structure of the Church itself.

Although the teaching authority of the Church remains an important element of Catholic tradition, the teachings of the hierarchy on social and political issues, that is, public morality, are frequently cause for division and conflict within the Church community. The authority of the S.A.C.B.C. has been questioned by conservative Catholics and by the secular authorities.

Various factors, both theological and non-theological, have challenged the Church to re-evaluate its priorities and pastoral programmes. These include Vatican II, the contemporary social teaching of the Catholic Church, the Theology of Liberation, Black Consciousness and the stark realities of apartheid. The combined impact of all these factors contributed to the development in the social consciousness of the Catholic Church which has been a feature of the 1970's and 1980's.

However, these changes have been uneven and ambiguous. They have not been

reflected throughout the Church and have underlined the divisions within the Church. Nevertheless, as Friedman points out "In South Africa any change which renders racial separation less workable or which strengthens organized black influence will increase pressure on apartheid and strengthen momentum for its replacement" (Friedman, 1988 : 9). In these terms the Catholic Church certainly played a role and contributed to the undermining of apartheid hegemony.

HEGEMONY

According to Gramsci civil society is the sphere of both class and popular democratic struggles. It is thus the sphere where hegemony is exercised and the terrain on which classes contest for power. The Church is part of civil society and religion is an element of fragmented commonsense. In terms of Gramsci's model of hegemony, which was discussed in Chapter One, religion plays a role in the 'relation of forces' within the social formation. It can either confirm or undermine the hegemony of the dominant group.

In terms of the above, to what extent has the South African Catholic Church questioned the collective values and beliefs of apartheid society and challenged the system of ideological legitimation? The preceding chapters have provided various examples of times when the Church has questioned, challenged and defied the actions, policies and plans of the dominant group.

The issue of education, which was discussed in Chapter Four, is especially pertinent. The Catholic Church, arguably, pioneered integrated, non-racial education in South Africa. Although this initiative was dismissed by some as tokenism, symbolically it was extremely significant. During the fifteen years following on the 'Open Catholic Schools' initiative, the importance of this challenge to the hegemony of racism in education has stood out as a practical and successful example of racial integration. The Church clearly demonstrated

that there are viable alternatives to racial segregation. Gramsci argued that the transformation of the social relations of civil society lays the basis for the transformation of the apparatuses of the state and the eventual re-organization of civil society. 'Open' Catholic schools and desegregated Church institutions have contributed to the undermining of white, racist hegemony in civil society. Gradually the Catholic Church has rid itself of its own racist practises.

The Catholic Church also challenged the theological hegemony of apartheid. The Church consistently and with increasing vigour declared that apartheid was not justifiable theologically and affirmed the fundamental rights of all South Africans. Democratisation and majority rule are supported by the Church. The Church has challenged the system of belief accepted by the subordinated by which they do not question the actions of the ruling group.

Conscription is another issue over which the Church challenged apartheid hegemony, particularly amongst white Catholics. Much of the progressive content of opposition to compulsory military service developed within the Church community.

The 'New Nation' newspaper was another clear example of the Catholic Church concretely challenging the hegemony of the dominant group. The newspaper, as discussed in Chapter Five, published alternative political viewpoints, critical editorial comment as well as information which was not readily available elsewhere. The 'New Nation' was widely sold in oppressed communities and filled an important gap created by harsh censorship measures. It also promoted popular democratic demands and presented a vision of a democratic and non-racial society.

In as much as the Catholic Church has challenged the hegemony of apartheid, it has contributed to the hegemony of the dominated grouping. The Church has

increasingly thrown in its lot with other social forces opposed to apartheid and supported many popular democratic demands. The Catholic Church has been, to use Gramsci's terminology, 'won over' as part of the broad democratic alliance against apartheid.

However, this commitment to a non-racial democracy has not been uniform. The ideological struggle for hegemony which takes place in civil society at large also takes place within the Church. This struggle is evidenced particularly by the opposition of rightwing church groupings to the stand taken by the S.A.C.B.C. This conflict is indicative of tension between two opposing views of the Christian message and of the role of the Church in society.

SOCIAL ANALYSIS

The response of the Church to socio-political issues has often been marked by a failure to address adequately the real causes of the problem. Frequently, previously held positions are simply reiterated. Early statements on apartheid were addressed to the dominant social groupings - the government and whites in general. The Church seemed fearful of calling the oppressed and exploited to work out their own liberation.

Generally, Church statements tend to be more descriptive than analytical. Proposals are vague and rely on such nebulous concepts as goodwill and charity. The social fact that those involved may have different social and political interests is overlooked. The Church remains reluctant to acknowledge the existence of social conflict either in the Church itself or in the broader society. This reluctance is informed by the commitment to the unity of the Church.

The inadequacies of the S.A.C.B.C. statement on migrant labour have been pointed out. In 1982 Verryn noted that "there is still awaited from the

Catholic bishops thorough treatment of the problems of the ownership of resources, the means of production, class exploitation and conflict and related issues " (Verryn in Prior, 1982 : 66). This criticism remained valid as the decade drew to a close. The statement 'On Economic Pressure' did not address these issues adequately . The Church's analysis of the relationship between racial oppression and class exploitation is still lacking. This lack contributes to the Church's dilemma regarding issues such as sanctions.

In recent years the Church has shown a growing understanding of the essential interlinking of social, political and economic forces in South African society. This process of social analysis has , to some extent , been facilitated by the development of 'Black Theology' and the 'Theology of Liberation'. These theologies, as discussed in Chapter Three, drew extensively from the social sciences. The new theological method introduced alternative options and orientations which have allowed the Church to address social issues more realistically.

The Church can be seen as an agent of social change and as an institution that is itself in need of transformation. Apartheid and its processes, the resistance to it and the repression, which has been meted out to those who have opposed it, have influenced the Church during the years of apartheid rule and have resulted in much confusion, conflict and division.

The events of the past forty years have encouraged the latent conflict in the Church to come to the fore. The crisis which apartheid has facilitated in the Church has meant that it can no longer ignore the implications of its social location and composition. There has been a growing awareness on the part of Catholic Church that the conflict both in society and in the Church cannot be avoided. As Itumeleng Mosala argues, the theology of the Church in South Africa arises out of and bears the indelible marks of racial and social conflict

(Mosala in Villa-Vicencio and de Gruchy, 1985 : 103). The social function of the Catholic Church in South Africa is heterogeneous. The practices of 'domination' and 'emancipation' are both distinguishable. The former reinforce the existing societal relations of domination, while the later undermine and challenge the dominant ideology. It would seem that the church has produced a religious discourse sufficiently ambiguous to satisfy different social groupings. These may be accommodated within the broad structures of the Church but they are also a source of latent tension. Increasingly this tension is coming to the fore. Options have to be decided and sides taken. It emerges that the Church as an institution is simultaneously in possession of ideas which support and challenge the dominant political authority in society.

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN THE 1990'S

The Church in South Africa is in a state of transition - of reconstitution in terms of its organization, options and objectives. It is a difficult process but one necessitated by the many contradictions with which the Church is fraught. The future direction of the Church remains an open question. The period of social upheaval in South Africa is far from over and this suggests that the Catholic Church will continue to be a site of struggle. Although the Catholic Church may be committed to the transformation of apartheid society, it is not committed to any particular political programme. This suggests that the relationship of the Church to the state in post apartheid South Africa may be similarly ambivalent and that many of the present tensions will persist.

While it is important not to overestimate the contribution of the Catholic Church to the struggle for liberation in South Africa, it is clear that the Church has challenged white domination and undermined the hegemony of apartheid. As Father Mkhathshwa remarked to the 'New Nation' "the Church has come a long way since 1970" (New Nation, 4 August, 1989). As the Catholic Church everywhere commemorates the one hundredth anniversary of 'Rerum Novarum', the challenge to

the Catholic Church in South Africa is to sustain its commitment to social justice in a post missionary and post apartheid society.

APPENDIX I

MEMBERSHIP OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH IN SOUTH AFRICA.

The results of the 1980 population census indicate that 2 406 699 people in South Africa describe themselves as Roman Catholics, that is, approximately 9,49% of the total population. The final results for religion of this census were published in January 1985 and did not include figures for Transkei, Venda and Bophuthatswana. The statistical departments of these 'territories' were not yet operative. In his report 'Statistiese Beskrywing van die Godsdienstige Verspreiding van die Bevolking van Suid-Afrika' Dr. J.J.Kritzinger devised a statistical method to compensate for this gap so that his results cover what he terms 'historical' South Africa. His figures therefore are somewhat higher than those of the Department of Statistics. He suggests that there are approximately 2 701 000 Catholics in South Africa (Kritzinger, University of Pretoria, 1985:37). While the figures given per diocese in the most recent edition of the Catholic Directory suggest that there are as many as 3 061 478 Catholics in South Africa (S.A.C.B.C. 1990).

Excluding the Black Independent Churches, the Roman Catholic Church is the second largest Christian religious denomination in the country. Only the Dutch Reformed Church grouping has more members overall. A further breakdown of Church membership figures shows that the Catholic Church is the largest black religious denomination in South Africa with over 1,7 million members. After the Dutch Reformed Mission Church the Catholic Church is the second largest Church grouping in the 'Coloured' community. There are very few Indian Catholics. Amongst white South Africans only the Dutch Reformed Church and the Methodist Church have more adherents. ('The Christian Science Monitor', April 12, 1985 : 5; S.A. Barometer Vol 1 no 17, October 23, 1987 and Vol 2 no 9, May 20, 1988 : 141-143; Bureau for Information Report, 1988 : 93-96).

It is clear that at the time of the 1980 census the ratio of black Catholics to white Catholics was 6:1. (Prior, 1982 : viii). 84% of the membership of the Catholic Church is not white. Jubber notes that the Catholic Church no longer keeps records or supplies information in terms of race. (Jubber in Prior, 1982 : 127).

APPENDIX 2

THE SOUTHERN AFRICAN CATHOLIC BISHOPS CONFERENCE (S.A.C.B.C.)

The Southern African Catholic Bishops Conference (hereafter referred to as the S.A.C.B.C.) is the association of all the bishops of Botswana, Namibia, Swaziland and South Africa. Its aims are described as:

- a) to provide the members of the Conference with a forum for joint consultation, planning and policy making;
- b) to promote united action in matters of common concern to the membership of the Church and in certain instances to fellow citizens as a whole;
- c) to co-ordinate the work of the dioceses and ecclesiastical territories;
- d) to act as a suitable link between the Church in Southern Africa, the Apostolic Delegation and the Vatican.

(S.A.C.B.C. Publications - The Catholic Directory of Southern Africa 1989 - 90).

The S.A.C.B.C. is sanctioned by the Pope and is the official leadership and hierarchical structure of the Catholic Church in Southern Africa.

There are five regional groupings in the conference which are defined according to geographic and language boundaries - namely the Xhosa region; the Tswana region; the South Sotho region; the Zulu region and the Northern region. The purpose of these regional pastoral conferences, which meet regularly for consultation and planning, is to respond to and give the necessary attention to the pastoral needs of the various regions.

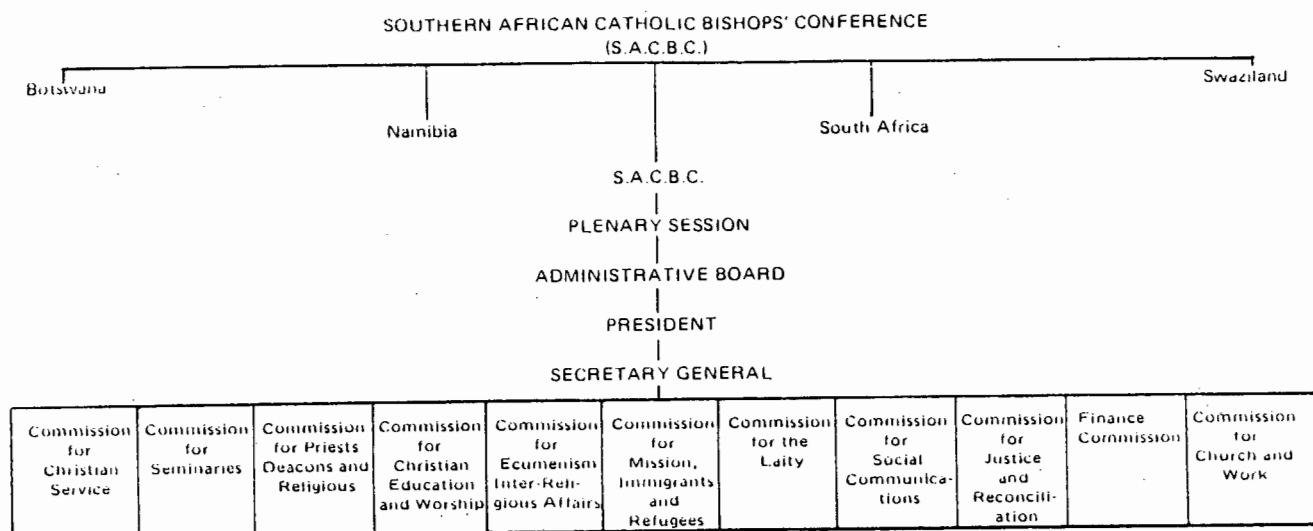
The S.A.C.B.C. is further divided into 12 Commissions which each have a particular field of work. The Commissions are as follows: Christian Service; Seminaries; Priests, Deacons and Religious; Christian Education and Worship; Ecumenism and Inter-religious Affairs; Mission, Immigrants and Refugees; Laity; Social Communications; Justice and Reconciliation; Finance; Church and Work and the Theological Advisory Commission. The task of these Commissions is

to carry out the decisions of the Conference and to study and submit to the Conference recommendations which concern and promote the activities of the respective Commissions. An episcopal chairman heads each Commission.

The Administrative Board of the S.A.C.B.C. is composed of the President of the Conference, the Vice-President, the Chairmen of the Commissions mentioned above and the Cardinal as an 'ex-officio' member. The Board has administrative and executive responsibilities. It acts on behalf of the Conference, and also manages the finances and property of the Conference. A plenary session or full meeting of the members of the Conference is held once a year. However, extraordinary plenary sessions may be convened to discuss urgent or special matters as circumstances dictate. Bishop Wilfred Napier of Kokstad is the current President of the S.A.C.B.C. Bishop Reginald Orsmond of Johannesburg is the Vice-president, while Brother Jude Pieterse is the Secretary-general. The headquarters of the S.A.C.B.C. and the offices of its General Secretariate are in Pretoria. These offices, called Khanya House, were destroyed by arson on 12 October 1988. The perpetrators have not yet been identified.

The Secretary-general co-ordinates the work of the Administrative Board and the Episcopal Commissions and, in consultation with the Board, is responsible for the general administration of the S.A.C.B.C. He also supervises the staff attached to the Secretariate and issues press statements on behalf of the Conference. In this task he is assisted by the Information Officer. The Commission for Social Communications publishes a monthly information bulletin 'Inter Nos' covering news of the work of the General Secretariate, the Vatican and items of general interest about the life of the Church in Southern Africa. 'Inter Nos' is circulated through the various diocesan offices to parish priests, religious congregations and lay organisations. 'Inter Nos' does not necessarily reflect the views of the bishops.

DIAGRAMMATICAL REPRESENTATION OF THE STRUCTURE OF THE S.A.C.B.C.



Source: S.A.C.B.C. Information Booklet.

The 'New Nation', a secular weekly newspaper, is published under the auspices of the S.A.C.B.C. It is owned by the Catholic Bishops Publishing Company.

The 'New Nation' was the first publication to be suspended for a three month period under the emergency regulations gazetted in terms of the Public Safety Act of 1953.

The Catholic Church in South Africa has 22 dioceses and 4 archdioceses, the largest of which is the archdiocese of Durban (Catholic Directory 1988/89). Each diocese is subject to the jurisdiction of a bishop and comprises the institutions and properties of the Church and the Catholics living in that canonically defined area. The dioceses are divided into deaneries, each with several parishes and each having its own administrator appointed by the bishop. The diocese is the group of communities that make up the local Church ('Lumen Gentium' 23 in Flannery, 1975). Pastoral councils exist wherein members of the clergy, the religious and the laity of a diocese serve in a consultative capacity to the bishop in the administration of the diocese (Broderick 1976 : 163).

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